

Daily Report

East Europe

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Mladenov Continues Official Italian Visit

Meets Pope, Casaroli

AU0512192888 Sofia BTA in English
1848 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Vatican, December 5 (BTA correspondent)—The head of the Roman Catholic Church Pope John Paul II received today at a private audience Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian foreign affairs minister who is paying a visit to Italy.

The Bulgarian minister greeted Pope John Paul II on behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria. In the talk they considered bilateral relations and a stress was made that after the meeting of Mr Todor Zhivkov with Pope Paul VI at the Vatican in 1975 and the following visit to Bulgaria of the Secretary of State Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, these relations are showing an upward trend of development. A conviction was expressed that in future, too, efforts will be made to promote these relations to the interest of both states.

At the meeting Pope John Paul II said that the Vatican highly commends the homage of the Bulgarian people for their first teachers the brothers Cyril and Methodius. With its attitude to their grand deed Bulgaria contributes significantly to the blossoming of the Slavic culture.

Particular attention was paid to the problems of our time. It was said that over the last years the world process is marking a positive trend of development, which is a result of the new political thinking, concerning the issues of international relations. The opinion that the world is united and interdependent, that the humankind has common interests, which can be protected only with common actions, is becoming ever stronger. The leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy pointed out the role of the Vatican and of Pope John Paul II for the strengthening of peace and security in the world, for the peaceful settlement of the common human problems.

On behalf of the Bulgarian Government Minister Petur Mladenov handed a gift to Pope John Paul II—a copy of a Thracian vessel from the Panagyurishte treasure, which is to be shown in Italy.

After that Mr Petur Mladenov had a fruitful conversation with the State Secretary of Vatican Cardinal Agostino Casaroli. They discussed matters, related with the further development of cooperation between Bulgaria and the Vatican.

Talks With Andreotti

AU0612075188 Sofia BTA in English
1010 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Rome, December 5 (BTA correspondent)—Tonight, official talks were held between Mr Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria and his Italian counterpart Mr Giulio Andreotti.

The stress was placed on bilateral relations, on the issues in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, Europe and the world. A general assessment was made that a difficult period in the relations between the two countries is already over and they are working for the early overcoming of its consequences, for the further cooperation and interaction.

An advance in the political relations and in the economic and cultural cooperation was marked with satisfaction. The two countries are determined to work for raising the level of their political relations which will give an impetus to the further development of Bulgaro-Italian relations in the various spheres.

Particular attention was paid to the situation in Europe and to the East-West dialogue. The significant role was stressed of Bulgaria and Italy to the development of the all-European process, for disarmament and the strengthening of security and peace in the old continent and in the world. In this relation, the support was expressed of the idea for building of an all-European home. The two countries are convinced that the Vienna talks should end with successful results, which are to improve the all-European process.

The foreign affairs ministers of Italy and Bulgaria signed tonight an agreement for mutual promotion and protection of investments. This creates real preconditions for deepening of the economic cooperation between the two countries and for the setting up of joint enterprises in particular.

Stepan Advocates 'Healthy Uncertainty'

AU0612081188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
29 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the party's Prague City Committee, by Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of RUDE PRAVO: "The Practical Implementation of Conclusions Drawn by the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session; Changing Reality at Greater Speed"]

[Text] Almost 1 year ago the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session adopted the Comprehensive Program of Economic Reform, and also the Program for Further Developing Socialist Democracy. How has the party's Prague city organization used this time to push through all our intentions in practice? We spoke about these (and other) issues with Comrade Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the party's Prague City Committee. He began by saying:

[Stepan] Those who really want to can see that a great deal has been done already. Basic changes, significant laws, and measures for further developing democracy within the party and for rationalizing the activity of party agencies have been prepared and adopted, and are gradually being introduced into practice; a significant exchange of cadres has been carried out at the center as well as in the lower structures. This also affects our capital city. During this period we in Prague have also been increasingly striving to take the basic steps toward normalizing the moral climate in our city, toward asserting new views on problems that have been confronting us for many years (regardless of whether they concern the use of our highly qualified people, ecological issues, or the need to put our housing economy in order). State enterprises are being set up, and the number of proposals to found cooperatives and other service organizations is on the increase. Of course, the great thing is that the past few months have stimulated our people to undertake new activity, giving them the courage to voice their views in public, and that this has led to the first attempts to analyze the causes of our protracted difficulties. All in all, since the seventh session considerable scope has been created for the changes that are needed. However, it is not being used in the way that the objective needs of society demand.

[Horeni] But the restructuring policy is meeting a number of obstacles—is this due to a lack of understanding or indifference as well?

[Stepan] The obstacles are caused by many things. Some people are passive because of their experience, for instance because their views were ignored for years, they were persecuted for criticism, or had to cope with the conceit of their superiors. We must give such people time to really start believing—that is only natural.

Another kind of passiveness is camouflaged by loud support for restructuring, meant to cover up the present inefficiency of the person in question or his role in the shortcomings accompanying the great work accomplished in the past. Today it is simply no longer interesting to hear a speaker include two or three passages of generalities about the significance of restructuring in his speech or statement, while in practice, in his everyday activity, he acts as though we were living in 1978, and not 1988. Such officials, representatives of various institutions, but also economic executives, underrate the people's healthy common sense by playing at being irreplaceable. As if they could really survive the restructuring process in the shelter of hackneyed phrases.

And then, of course, we also have honest people to whom nobody has so far explained the substance and goals of the profound changes that have to be carried out in the entire life of society. They are waiting in vain for some intelligible word from the officials standing closest to them, but also from journalists, the television staff, or representatives of our scientific front.

We should get this problem solved far more speedily after the 10th Central Committee session; on principle, we should make a greater effort to achieve the desired new quality in social dialogue. On the whole, I am convinced that we must do a great deal to bring about a radical turn toward the future, and that we must prevent (with full responsibility) the disparagement of the results achieved during the past decades. That is why this also means getting rid of all extremes, as well as trusting our own history and having faith in the possibilities of socialism—but also the courage to call things by their right names.

[Horeni] You have already indicated that it is scarcely possible to count on certain executives. How does the city committee intend to replace them?

[Stepan] Here the primary, basic factor is the objective ability (or inability) to work under completely new conditions, when nobody can hide behind heavy office doors or past merits. We are making no effort to carry out cadre changes at any price. In brief, we do not want to compete with other regions in the number of new national committee secretaries, chairmen, etc. This would be nonsense. However, life itself forces us to make extensive cadre changes. Even if we can (or have to) wait until certain people in plants, institutions, and everyday practical life have grasped the intentions and goals of restructuring, then in the case of certain officials on another level the time for this is long past. The Prague city conference has clearly disproved all speculations about the fate of restructuring in our capital city. Nevertheless, certain comrades continue to believe that it is sufficient for them to merely vote for restructuring, and they will be left in peace. This makes our stand on this problem clear—in some places we must rouse and encourage people; elsewhere we must no longer wait, but

must change things. This effort fully coincides with the views held by the honest majority of our working people and fellow citizens, and is in harmony with the party's policy.

[Horeni] Does such a course not produce an atmosphere of uncertainty?

[Stepan] I believe that the atmosphere of far too many certainties for some people has lasted far too long. I personally see no other way than to create a literally healthy uncertainty, which would force everybody to ponder his work and its effects every day, to think about the party's, and also his own, authority. Our experience in Prague also confirms that the years of guaranteed certainties have negatively affected the mentality of certain officials. As late as the city conference in May, both the leadership of the National Committee of the capital city of Prague and the minister of building industry and construction in the Czech SR promised us that this year's housing construction plan would be well fulfilled. And today? Only 27 percent of the projects have been commissioned, the annual plan will be scarcely fulfilled—and if it is, it will be thanks to shock-work, hasty commissioning, undiscovered faults, and so forth. Are all these situations not rooted in year-long certainties, in times when the satisfaction of Prague's inhabitants was not considered one of the so-called binding indexes? Why should we hand out guarantees in advance? Our primary duty is to push through the working man's justified interests—not the interests of bureaucratic or other rigid structures which restructuring has not yet had time to unmask either economically or socially. The basic thing is every individual's careful work.

[Horeni] Of course, there are quite a few people who warn us not to be one-sided or too radical in this context. What are your views on this?

[Stepan] We know about such warnings. We hear them primarily from places where dogmatism has become an ideal of life, and from people who have failed to grasp the purpose of restructuring and of the renewal of socialist ideals, to grasp the basic interconnections of our times and of our present world. We are merely at the beginning of the process of general restructuring and of the development of socialist democracy in our society; a great deal still remains to be done in the interests of socialism—things should be literally set in motion, but some people are already admonishing us to be careful. The people are justified in asking: Where were the proponents of such views when Czechoslovakia missed the boat in regard to electronics; when construction projects were decided on which are now causing us severe ecological problems; or when the school reform of 1976 was being foisted on us from above, without a responsible discussion? I am not casting doubts on the past—and, naturally, by this I do not mean that nobody

may have his own opinion. On the contrary, we welcome all discussion and polemics, but they must always be linked with constructive work and provide for the things agreed.

Prague, too, has many such "advisers"—we now advise them to take their views to the working collectives, to listen far more to the people in plants and shops, in areas with a large concentration of young people. In fact, it is interesting to note that they prefer to remain anonymous, somehow shunning a public confrontation.

[Horeni] But what kind of guarantees does the city committee really provide to make its present decisions effective (from the viewpoint of restructuring)?

[Stepan] They are based on our faith in socialism, on our belief in our just cause, on our confidence in the long-term changes headed by the party and aided by its unity (to which the last three working sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee strikingly contributed). This makes the party and its links with the people, its correct policy, and its internal life the main guarantees. We speak of the need to set the party in motion, to give it its proper place in the leadership of our society, to reinforce its ability to express the working man's real, long-term interests. All this is a proper but general demand. However, the experience of our city organization shows that the path from adopting theses to really changing the quality of party work is usually a long one. Even prior to the city conference we have (naturally) stated that party bodies should increasingly work with several variants of proposals—briefly, at their sessions they should assess several possible solutions, regardless of whether they concern cadre or other matters, including concepts. Deplorably, many a management link and apparatus is still incapable of preparing such documentation or providing for new approaches in practice. We notice this in the city committee and in municipal committees, but also in plants. However, elections by secret ballot are not the only way to truly develop democracy within the party. First of all we must give back to the elected bodies their true right to make decisions, to decide between certain possibilities, instead of merely expressing their formal agreement—as they are expected to do after so-called consultations with the nonelected apparatus or all sorts of people. In other words, we do not need general statements about the need to reinforce the role of elected bodies (after all, this is always mentioned and can be found in every congress resolution); what we need is to be told which procedures will be really changed in the party, what will be abolished, and what new methods will be chosen.

This was emphatically stated at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, which was very well received by the party. In truth, it has become boring to read or hear that the party must improve its work—the question is: How? Where? What is not to be transferred into the future? These currently usual practices have not produced many positive examples. We must be quicker in changing a reality which has become outdated. We need a more

profound theoretical elaboration of these issues. I do not believe that we can expect some of our pillars of social sciences and theory to provide us with such an elaboration—which is regrettable, for they have actually had almost 20 years for this!

As for guarantees, I see the main ones in honest work, in the party leadership's energetic course, in the maturity of the members in our primary organizations. Our optimism is justified. We are one of the few European parties with democratic traditions which are still alive, although the years of (at times) bureaucratic tutelage made no use of them; we can add to this the CPSU's immensely interesting and stimulating (and, in the decisive spheres, generally valid) recent experience. The linkage between transformations in the USSR and in our own country is obvious. We wish the Soviet transformations total success. We can also make full use of the experience of other leading parties in socialist countries according to our conditions, and thus arrive at the 18th party congress with a comprehensive idea of how to turn the party into a creative and dynamic organism. The world is confronting us with completely new situations, and the classics tell us only about skeleton solutions which can be applied to them. Thus, it is most important to properly analyze, apply, and protect our social and political experience.

[Horeni] What is the Prague organization's stand on proposals to convene the 18th congress earlier than planned?

[Stepan] Its stand is positive; and it is positive not merely in the leadership of the city committee, but also in plants, among the intelligentsia, and in street organizations. This was also confirmed at the recent Prague meeting of CPCZ plant organization chairmen. Our comrades understand very well that it is essential to assess, and soon, all weighty issues of the party's program, so as to clarify the goals of the development of our entire society. They have grasped the fact that we need fundamental statute amendments would further reinforce our democracy within the party and make certain that it will lead to the necessary cadre steps to provide for our progress. That is why the well-thought-out course of the CPCZ Central Committee is supported.

One used to say that congress preparations offer us an opportunity for increased activity. Of course, today it has become less important to pledge the fulfillment of one's duties, deliver solemn reports on success, or organize isolated festive events in honor of the congress—our experience shows that the important thing is to make a serious, profound analysis, which will not halt even before the most unpleasant conclusions, and which will not ignore specific responsibility for such phenomena as stagnation, sometimes even moral disintegration, political indifference, or else a diminishing or even stagnating economic results.

In several of his works Karl Marx pointed out that such analyses are not simply a look back, but primarily prerequisites of the correct road forward. Our everyday experience tells us that without such analyses it is impossible to progress or to work out programs and well-considered plans.

Some of our comrades claim that nothing will be solved by searching for culprits. True, but only if the search is a purpose within itself. However, nobody wants this. Still, to shrug off the past, saying "what can you do, it has happened," would mean halting in the middle of the road, and that is why we will work with analyses as a lasting and irreplaceable instrument.

Understandably, it is and will be true that an analysis should not leave out anybody—not the city committee, not its Presidium, and not its leading secretary. It is an essential working method in the comprehensive restructuring process and the development of socialist democracy. We have had to pay too high a price to forget this, in the shape of the lesson we learned when criticism stopped at the doors of responsible party officials.

[Horeni] Prague is solving many complicated problems, particularly now, when changes are also being carried out in our central agencies. In July you said in the pages of RUDE PRAVO that so far nobody has left for the service sector, and not a single building has been made available. What is the situation now?

[Stepan] Almost the same.

[Horeni] Only the nameplates are being repainted?

[Stepan] For the most part. General managements often become so-called joint stock companies for services to the production enterprises to which they were formerly subordinated. In other words, the premises remain occupied and the people remain in their offices. Some ministerial departments are even clamoring for new office space in order to make their employees quite comfortable, since they are so efficiently directing production which is situated hundreds of kilometers away.

Our stand is: If the enterprises want to found various fictional institutions or companies, they can do so solely in Prague. Why should we have (for instance) information and trade services for poultry farmers, sugar refineries, or metallurgists here? If the ministerial branches fail to provide a really sensible solution we will resort to economic pressure. The city authorities are entitled to make everything that's not directly used for the functioning of our capital city very expensive. This includes rents for premises and land tax. We are curious to see how production enterprises will react to this which, under the law on state enterprises, are obliged to finance these new institutions from their own funds. In short, in the

developed world it is usual that only those who can afford it can have their seat in the capital and make use of the local manpower—and not those who simply like it there.

This is also where we have a 20-percent manpower reserve for the needs of the service and trade sectors. We believe that this is completely in line with the political aim of the decisions adopted for the reorganization of central agencies and for the introduction of two-tier management. It is also in harmony with the conclusions of the seventh, ninth, and tenth CPCZ Central Committee sessions.

[Horeni] Let us stop to consider the "management of city resources." Which of them would you like to put to better use?

[Stepan] We have stressed on many occasions that the demand to make better use of resources above all applies to qualified manpower. In our conditions this concerns, in particular, the mature labor force of those industrial enterprises that can develop on the basis of truly effective scientific-technical progress. Even here, everything must be based on sound economics. Comparison with the world must serve as the yardstick. Naturally, this cannot be required of all enterprises. Nonetheless, Prague's intellectual background, its science, schools, culture, and research have the chance to join forces with a selected network of enterprises, and strive to manufacture products that conform to the standards of the late 20th century.

Should someone want to defend some production in Prague by means of references to long traditions or the interests of workers, he will have to prove that he is capable of offering workers, technicians, and engineers interesting, highly qualified, as far as possible clean, and, above all, effective and well-paying jobs—jobs that are suitable for the capital. We know that if we are to protect the interests of workers in the upcoming process of structural changes and create conditions to bring them about, we must pay heed primarily to these interests and not to the ideas of technocrats who would like to conserve obsolete, ecologically dangerous, labor-intensive, and inefficient jobs under the workers' banner, for which, however, they demand the provision of modern services by the city.

The structure of Prague's economy must undergo major changes in favor of top-level production, but also in favor of services—from education, health care, retailing, and tourism, up to culture and new branches, such as the creation and sale of all types of intellectual potential.

I would like to say that we need so many disparate professions in Prague that even if we liquidated 50 plants that have no future, there would be enough work for everyone. It is from these positions that the General Plan for the Socioeconomic Development of the Prague Conurbation is being drawn up and prepared for discussion

in government and political bodies. At the same time we realize that it is necessary to put an end to the wage discrimination against people who are employed in the nonproduction sphere. Many people tell us reproachfully that rather than repairing the rain gutter of a house, we wait for a general overhaul of its entire outer shell [plast]. But other calculations show that a tradesman can work for years in an underdeveloped and loss-making production enterprise and be better off than if he worked as a maintenance worker looking after the expensive housing stock. We are able to change these conditions, provided we meet with the understanding of central bodies, and save money on top of that.

[Horeni] What should be the next step of restructuring right now?

[Stepan] It should involve, above all, the implementation of everything that was assigned by the 7th, 9th, and 10th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, and that enjoys the support of the entire National Front. There is no point in piling up new resolutions at a time when far from everything [that forms part of the previous resolutions] has been implemented in practice. The further course of action should also rest on an exacting and objective differentiation of cadres. Whoever has not grasped and accepted the conclusions of the 7th, 9th, and 10th sessions will scarcely grasp the conclusions of the 12th session or of any subsequent session. And finally, the most important thing of all in my opinion is an even closer and more intensive contact with the people. In other words, in our everyday political activity we must move much closer to the views, everyday needs, and interests of the working people. We must not lose anyone who could provide constructive help in this revolutionary time of comprehensive restructuring and democratization; not for the sake of statistics, but for the sake of a correct policy.

[Horeni] Thank you for the interview.

Former Foreign Minister Hajek Interviewed
AU0612133688 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1100 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Report on interview with former CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek by Barbara Coudenrove-Kalergi in Vienna on 6 December—recorded]

[Text] It was 20 years ago that Professor Jiri Hajek, now 75, last went abroad, then still in his capacity as foreign minister.

[Hajek] This is very exciting, and I am particularly glad that I can take this first step in your country, here in Vienna.

[Coudenrove-Kalergi] Professor Hajek, things are moving everywhere in Eastern Europe, but not in the CSSR. What is your explanation for that?

[Hajek] Well, I think the explanation has to be seen in these 20 years. However, I believe what is happening in the CSSR does show certain signs of influence from the wind of the East.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] There is a young generation—people who could actually be your grandchildren—which is attracting a certain attention today.

[Hajek] This young generation—the active part of it—spoke out on 21 August. I think that it was a surprise, a surprise even for me and for many of my friends, and for other circles too, I believe. The most important thing is that the civil society is waking up again. After all, civil society is a prerequisite for the functioning of a constitutional state.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Professor, Austria has intensive relations with the CSSR Government, with the CSSR leadership. How do you see that? Do you regard it as upgrading the CSSR Government, or will the people also benefit from it?

[Hajek] I would say that establishing closer ties between two countries, especially between two neighbors that have so many things in common, has to be (?welcomed).

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] Are you optimistic?

[Hajek] Well, moderately.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] On Saturday [10 December], the International Day of Human Rights, Professor Hajek will take part in a symposium in Graz, and subsequently return to Prague.

Alleged 'Manhunt' of Regime Opponents Detailed
AU0512131588 Vienna KURIER in German
4 Dec 88 p 3

[Unattributed article: "CSSR: 'Manhunt of Regime Opponents'; Stalinist Methods Winning Ground"]

[Text] A virtual manhunt is taking place in our neighboring country, CSSR, in the style of the Stalinist era of the fifties. Over the past few weeks, people who have been taking part in demonstrations or rallies critical of the regime are being publicly criticized in their enterprise, at their school, or workplace and are admonished and have to fear repression. This has been learned from a document, which fell into the hands of KURIER. It is a letter, which is signed by Prague Mayor Zdenek Horcik and directed to enterprises and authorities in the CSSR capital. The letter includes the following passage: "We would like to inform you that your employee (followed by the name; editor's note) took part in an anti-socialist meeting that was also attended by criminal elements. We call on you to deal with this matter publicly in the collective of the people working with you in a way that makes the person concerned aware of his unlawful deed."

Letters with similar contents have also appeared in schools and provincial towns, Stanislav Devaty's "Social Defense Initiative" reports.

This resort to the Stalinist methods of the fifties fits perfectly into the overall picture of the continually spreading cult surrounding Klement Gottwald, the head of the CPCZ during the Stalin era.

Since October 1988, some 60 houses of CSSR civil rights activists have been searched, and 122 people have been arrested, many of them by use of violent brutality.

Jakes Visits North Bohemia Power Station
LD0612130988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today paid a visit to the North Bohemian region.

He began his visit with a tour of the power station complex of the Czech electricity works—power station of the Victorious February in Pocerady. The plant concentrates six 200 megawatt blocks. During his tour, Milos Jakes expressed interest in working conditions and transport to the plant, among other things. Greater differentiation of salaries was also discussed.

There was also a short discussion with the party and economic management of the power station. Vaclav Chlouba, the power station director, spoke about the preparations to build desulphurization devices. Milos Jakes was interested in the devices' efficiency, length of service life, and price as well as in the possibilities of using the gypsum produced. He also acquainted himself with the progress of preparations to use the heat produced by the power stations in Pocerady and Litice to provide heat for nearby towns.

Milos Jakes spoke with Frantisek Lojda, chairman of the all-plant party committee, about party work, especially about dealing with comments on the CPCZ and about improving the quality of the party membership base made at members' meetings. He also expressed appreciation for the care the party organization has devoted to these problems as well as the fact that the workers at the plant not only fulfilled planned electricity production tasks, but concentrated on the efficiency of the production process.

RUDE PRAVO, Slovak PRAVDA Cooperation
AU0112173388 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
29 Nov 88 p 1

["(pa)"-signed report: "Press in the Restructuring Process"]

[Text] Bratislava—Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL),

yesterday [28 November] received Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of RUDE PRAVO, during the latter's working visit to the PRAVDA editorial office. The reception was attended by Stefan Bachar, member of the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of PRAVDA. The talk dealt with ways of enhancing the effectiveness of activities pursued by the party press organs after the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session and the CPSL Central Committee session. The standards of cooperation between RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA were appraised as highly positive.

At a meeting with the CPSL plant committee, Comrade Horeni briefed its members on the tasks and mission of our mass information and propaganda media in the process of economic and social restructuring. In his statement and in replying to questions voiced in the discussion, he spoke of the need to intensify the prompt, truthful, objective, and well-founded information supplied by the press in the spirit of the document on implementing the Leninist principle of frank information to the general public. He particularly stressed the need to deepen the open dialogue with the working people. His meeting with the staff of the PRAVDA editorial office was also part of his working visit; the participants in the meeting evaluated the present forms of cooperation between RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA and discussed the joint course to be taken next year.

Government Spokesman Gives Press Conference
AU2911111088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
26 Nov 88 p 1

[Igor Sirota report: "Press Conference on CSSR Government Meeting; Arrears in Housing Construction; 9,127 Apartments Not Built During the 2 Years of the 5-Year Plan; French President to Visit Our Republic for the First Time Since 1918"]

[Text] Prague—The developments to date make it obvious that we will not succeed in accomplishing the specific task set by the 17th CPCZ Congress in apartment construction; this was stated by Miroslav Pavel, head of the press section of the CSSR Government Presidium Office, at a press conference on Friday [25 November].

A total of 167,457 apartments were to have been completed throughout our republic (in all forms of construction) during the first 2 years of the current 5-year period; in reality we have completed 9,127 fewer apartments, and the largest shortfall has been in the construction of family homes. This situation is also a result of a shortage of building materials. After creating the necessary prerequisites, it should become feasible to cut down the shortfall, at least in individual construction. The shortfall in construction on the basis of subcontractors (caused by the lag in building work, but also in design preparation and the work of investors and national committees) now amounts to 1,157 apartments.

We received with gratification the news about the planned meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush, the representatives of the two great powers. We also welcome the declaration issued by the newly elected U.S. President George Bush, which spoke in favor of continuing Soviet-American disarmament talks and further developing mutual cooperation, all of which should contribute to further consolidating peace, international security, and cooperation; this was stated by Ivan Kulhanek, spokesman of the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The CSSR is prepared to develop a constructive dialogue and cooperation with the next U.S. Government and to establish favorable conditions for their further expansion and intensification, provided the principles of equal rights, mutual advantages, and noninterference are observed.

I. Kulhanek then informed those present that Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, will visit Czechoslovakia on 8 and 9 December at the invitation of CSSR President Gustav Husak. This will be the first official visit of the top French representative in Czechoslovakia since the establishment of our Republic. It will be the culmination of preceding mutual contacts between the members of the two governments.

The spokesman then informed the journalists present at the conference that Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, will visit Austria on 4-6 December at the invitation of Alois Mock, federal vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Austria.

Drug Abuse, Treatment Problems Discussed

AU212115988 [Editorial Report] Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No 47, the weekend supplement of Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech of 26 November, publishes on page 3 a 3,000-word interview with Jiri Presl, head of the Prague Drug Addiction Center, by Eva Puklova, entitled "Diagnosis: Escapes and Returns...." The date and place of the interview, which deals with the work of the Prague center, is not given. The problem of drug addiction in Czechoslovakia is also the subject of a 1,000-word article by Karel Walter in Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 November on page 3, entitled "Sanctions Will Not Do."

The interview with Presl reveals that in 1985, when the Ministry of Interior of the Czech SR presented its last report, 8,500 drug addicts were registered in the Czech SR, about 2,500 of whom were Prague residents. Presl says that the Prague center "works actively" with only about 600 registered Prague addicts, mainly because of manpower constraints (the center has only 4 employees). The average age of its patients is 19, he says, the "crushing majority" of whom are apprentices, mostly from single-parent families. Secondary school students reportedly account for less than 5 percent of registered drug addicts while university students are "exceptions."

Asked about the main types of drugs used in Czechoslovakia, Presl replies that the most frequent form is "self-manufacture out of pharmaceuticals," followed by the sniffing of volatile substances, which he says is the "most pernicious form." As to the ratio between male and female patients, Presl notes that it has changed from about 7 to 1 in 1985 to 2 to 1 at present.

Speaking about the problems his center has to contend with, Presl refers in particular to the absence of an inpatient ward. He says that the only institutional treatment currently available to drug addicts is in the psychiatric hospital in Prague-Bohnice, where drug addicts occupy the same pavilion as alcoholics. The main drawback of the treatment in Bohnice, according to Presl, is that motivated patients who want to give up the habit share the same ward with patients who have been referred to the hospital by the court and have no intention of becoming clean. Speaking about other problems, Presl mentions that only next year will the center be able to get its own nurse to take blood samples and that in more than 9 months it has not succeeded in obtaining a freezer to be able to store urine samples.

The Karel Walter article in 29 November RUDE PRAVO focuses on the legal aspects of drug abuse. Walter mentions that in 1987 414 persons were prosecuted on charges of the illegal possession or manufacture of narcotic substances in Czechoslovakia and an additional 317 persons were prosecuted because of criminal acts committed under the influence of drugs (however, he adds that the actual number must have been higher, because there is no "readily available method of spotting narcotic substances in the organism of offenders"). In addition, "several tens of person annually" reportedly die in Czechoslovakia because of overdoses.

Citing data on the scale of the problem, Walter mentions that about 800 new drug addicts are registered in Czechoslovakia every year, most of whom are people in the 17-26 age group living in industrial centers.

Speaking about measures taken in Czechoslovakia to combat drug abuse, he notes that at the proposal of police authorities, the chemical industry has discontinued the production of the "ci-ku-li" chemical agent, "the most frequently abused substance," and that a "program for the denaturation of some other chemical products is in preparation" to prevent their abuse.

Like Presl, Walter criticizes the lack of hospital beds for the treatment of drug addicts (the waiting time for a bed is reportedly "1 year or even more") in general and the absence of a specialized institution in particular.

Electricity, Gas Allocation Set for 1989
AU2911105588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
26 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Electricity and Gas Allocations"]

[Text] Prague—The Federal Ministry of Fuel and Power informs socialist organizations, which are small-scale consumers of electricity and heating gas, that in accordance with decrees No 171/82 on general guidelines for

electricity consumption, and No 172/82 on general guidelines for the consumption of heating gas, crude oil, and gasoline, and in accordance with the principles on reducing their consumption, the allocation of electricity for 1989 has been set at 102 percent of actual consumption in 1988. The allocation of heating gas has been set at 100 percent of the allocation valid in 1988.

The volume by which the 1988 allocation was exceeded will not be included when setting the new allocation for 1989.

These measures do not affect the populace's consumption.

USSR Supreme Soviet Session Evaluated
LD0312044488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Commentary by Antonin Kostka]

[Excerpts] The session of the 3-day USSR Supreme Soviet was one of those events that shows a visible demarcation between two stages in USSR developments. This is true not only because it was the final session of the supreme body of Soviet power in its current form—thus logically closing a given stage in Soviet history—but primarily because the session gave a concrete expression to the restructuring of the political system as set out fundamentally by the 17th Congress and the 19th Conference of the CPSU. [passage omitted]

It is clear that the proceedings were a renewal of the original Leninist concept of Soviet statehood and socialist democracy. Furthermore, the actual course of the last Supreme Soviet session, the lively and varied discussion, the surmounting of the infamous syndrome of absolute unanimity, and in particular the mass public discussion of the proposed changes with more than 300,000 comments also confirmed the consistency of the return to Leninist concepts.

The Supreme Soviet session took place at a very eventful time, when the Soviet public is voicing concern about availability of goods, the ethnic frictions beyond the Caucasus, and trends toward political decentralization in the Baltic republics. Therefore, it is quite logical and typical for the present period that the Soviet parliament deputies discussed not only questions on the agenda, but restructuring in its wider context as well. In this respect, the session was a unique proving ground of socialist democracy, because although it did not do so unanimously, the Supreme Soviet was all the more unequivocal in deciding that the resolution of all the emerging problems, including ethnic ones, is possible only within the framework and on the basis of restructuring, while consistently respecting the interests of the entire Soviet society. At the same time, it gave a clear example of how a tangle needs to be patiently unraveled and not snapped apart by force. Therefore it can be said that the Supreme Soviet in its existing form brought its term of office to a

dignified end, it fully lived up to its responsibilities, and made a significant contribution to revolutionary restructuring and to creating further conditions for the development of Soviet society and socialism.

Joint Soviet Venture Starts Operation

AU2811195388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
25 Nov 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Skoda-Uralsmash Goes Into Operation"]

[Text] Plzen—The signing of founding documents on activity in the immediate future and the appointment of a general director in Plzen on Thursday [24 November] wound up the preparatory stage for the establishment of the independent joint Skoda-Uralsmash enterprise. All formalities have thereby been fulfilled for the new organization to be entered in the company register kept by the Plzen City Court, which will happen no later than 1 December this year.

Following 2 years of negotiations and work on specifying the statute and the terms of this new form of economic cooperation between Skoda Plzen and the Urals heavy engineering plant in Sverdlovsk, the joint enterprise has thus reached a phase in which it takes over its functions and goes into operation. It is the first Czechoslovak-Soviet enterprise that operates as a supplier of engineering equipment. It will design and deliver steel and nonferrous rolling mills as well as finishing equipment for the separation, thermal treatment, and surface treatment of semi-finished metallurgical products. In contrast to all previous forms of joint participation by Czechoslovak and Soviet enterprises, Skoda-Uralsmash will operate on the basis of complete economic accountability and self-financing. The first order is a pickling line for the Danube metallurgical combine in Budapest.

Engineer Jan Vileta, candidate of sciences, is the general director of the joint enterprise.

CEDOK Expands Tourism to USSR in 1989

AU0112170988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
29 Nov 88 p 2

[Interview with Alzbeta Sibrtova, CEDOK staffer, by Zdenek Vavra: "Collecting Experience in the USSR; Three Questions, Three Answers"; place and date not given]

[Summary] We have asked Alzbeta Sibrtova, head of the USSR and Far East commercial department of the CEDOK-Foreign Tourist Trade Administration, about the offers of travel to the USSR prepared by her organization for 1989.

According to her, 105 travel offers have been prepared for a total of 93,370 tourists; 38 percent of them will be for holidays in one place; the rest will consist of coach and automobile tours.

Although this has not been publicly mentioned, our CSSR tourists have been complaining recently about the standards of services to tourists in the USSR. We asked A. Sibrtova whether restructuring is not reflected in this sphere.

Our Soviet colleagues frankly concede the numerous shortcomings in tourism from abroad, she says, particularly with regard to the inadequate management mechanism, needless bureaucracy, a lack of hotels, and so forth. However, CEDOK representatives have been assured that all complaints by CSSR tourists will receive frank replies and will be properly settled.

Asked about new offers for CSSR tourists, A. Sibrtova mentions (inter alia) that CEDOK has succeeded in getting accommodation in the Caucasian mountains, and that offers of holidays in Black Sea resorts and of trips to various cities have been expanded.

Johanes Official Visit to Austria Continues

Meets With Mock

LD0512194088 Prague CTK in English
1709 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Vienna Dec 5 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, currently on an official visit to Austria since yesterday, and Austrian Vice-chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock signed here today an agreement on the establishment of a Czechoslovak culture and information centre in Vienna and an Austrian culture institute in Prague.

On this occasion the two representatives said that the agreement reflects the rising tendency in the development of bilateral relations between the two countries and their systematic effort to deepen the all-European process. They expressed conviction that it will create an appropriate atmosphere for extensive and rich activity and inspire a creative dialogue not only in culture and arts, but also in science and education.

The two ministers issued a document calling for the ending of the Vienna follow-up meeting as soon as possible. Alois Mock also appreciated the importance of the Czechoslovak initiative aimed at the creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed that relations between the two countries were extended in the past period, adding that political willingness to develop wide cooperation benefiting the two countries exists on both sides. Qualitative progress is visible, for instance, in economic relations. Czechoslovakia and Austria have signed already almost 30 agreements on cooperation and seven joint ventures have been established. The two countries' trade turnover of the past three years has reached almost 1,300 million dollars.

Alois Mock appreciated the positive development of relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria. He said that the talks of the three expert groups, established during his visit to Prague last year, have brought concrete results. They have discussed the issues of easing travel, extending the activity of culture and information and mutual informing on the safety of nuclear facilities.

Received by Waldheim

*LD0512194388 Prague CTK in English
1830 GMT 5 Dec 88*

[Text] Vienna Dec 5 (CTK Correspondent)—Austrian President Kurt Waldheim appreciated in his talks with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes here today the great progress achieved in cooperation between the two countries.

He called for its further extension to all spheres of cooperation and stressed that this favourable tendency in the development of bilateral relations significantly helps strengthen all-European cooperation and security.

Jaromir Johanes conveyed to Kurt Waldheim greetings from Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak which were reciprocated.

Earlier today, Austrian Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock gave a dinner in honour of the Czechoslovak guest. The two representatives pointed out the dynamic development of an all-round and constructive dialogue between Austria and Czechoslovakia and confirmed their joint interest in its lasting intensification.

Visit Concludes

*LD0612144788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes has ended his official visit to Austria and has left for Prague. In Vienna he was received today by Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, with whom he discussed bilateral relations. They also clarified in detail views concerning Austria's joining the West European economic integration. They stressed that if Austria eventually joins the European communities Austria's neutrality must be maintained.

Jaromir Johanes also had talks with Leopold Gratz, chairman of Austria's National Council.

Satisfaction Expressed

*LD0612182488 Prague CTK in English
1708 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Text] Vienna Dec 6 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes today voiced satisfaction with the results of his visit to Austria.

Speaking to CTK at the close of the visit the minister stressed that it has been proved that the political will to expand bilateral relations in all spheres exists on both sides. Political dialogue continues, economic contacts are developing well, cooperation in the environmental protection, tourism, culture and other spheres is extending.

Jaromir Johanes pointed out that new, more effective forms of cooperation are being used in economic relations, including the establishment of joint ventures. Besides economic questions, also discussed during the visit were contractual and legal and consular problems. A concrete result of the visit is the signing of an agreement on the establishment of a Czechoslovak cultural and information centre in Vienna and an Austrian cultural institute in Prague. The agreement will certainly help enrich the exchange of cultural values and expand contacts in science and education, the minister said.

Discussions on international issues centred on the development in Europe and the Vienna follow-up meeting in particular. Both sides agreed that it should end as soon as possible with the adoption of a balanced document that would open up a new, qualitatively higher stage of the Helsinki process and make it possible to start talks on the reduction of conventional forces and armament from the Atlantic to the Urals and to strengthen confidence and security in Europe.

The Czechoslovak official voiced satisfaction over the Austrian support for the Czechoslovak initiative to establish a zone of confidence and good-neighbour relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states.

Trip Assessed on Prague Radio

*LD0712101888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 6 Dec 88*

[Text] Following the conclusion of his 2-day visit to Austria, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes granted an interview to Czechoslovak journalists. Our special correspondent Jozef Knizat asked the comrade minister to assess the talks.

[Begin recording] I think that we can be satisfied with the results of the visit. Bilateral political will has been further confirmed to expand our relations in all spheres of joint interest. Political dialogue is continuing, economic cooperation is developing, and Austria holds second place among the Western countries as our trade exchange is concerned. Cooperation is also developing in the sphere of protecting the living environment where the signed agreement is beginning to be implemented. Cooperation in the area of tourism is likewise gaining a wider scope. One palpable result of the visit was the signing of an agreement to set up a Czechoslovak cultural and information center in Vienna and an Austrian

cultural institute in Prague. The agreement will no doubt contribute toward enriching the mutual exchange of cultural values in arts and education as well as in science and technology.

Naturally, we also talked about the problems that exist between our neighboring countries. On our part, we stressed that while building a common European home, neighbors should mutually respect one another since this is the only way to create an atmosphere of trust and understanding, the atmosphere on which the Final Act of the Helsinki process is based.

[Knizat] Comrade Minister, during your talks with the Austrian representatives you paid attention to international questions. What were they in particular?

[Johanes] Above all, we discussed the situation in Europe and, in this connection, the situation at the Vienna follow-up meeting. We have agreed that it should end as soon as possible by adopting a balanced document that would open up a path toward a new, qualitatively higher stage of the Helsinki process, as well as a path toward opening talks on the reduction of armaments and conventional forces in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and on new measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe.

We are pleased that during the talks the Austrian side yet again voiced support of the Czechoslovak initiative to set up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. [end recording]

DPRK Parliamentary Delegation Pays Visit

Arrives 2 Dec

AU0612130388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 Dec 88 p 1

[CTK report: "DPRK Deputies Welcomed in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—An official delegation of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly headed by Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly and member of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, arrived by air in Prague on Friday [2 December] at the invitation of Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

The guests were welcomed at Ruzyně Airport by, among others, Jan Marko, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly. Yi Kun-muk, counsellor of the DPRK Embassy in the CSSR, was also present.

The delegation headed by Yang Hyong-sop paid a visit to the Charles University, the Old Town Townhall, and the Klement Gottwald Museum on the same day.

Received by Jakes, Husak

LD0512201888 Prague CTK in English
1912 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today the delegation of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by its Standing Committee Chairman Yang Hyong-sop.

Milos Jakes highly appreciated the present level of cooperation and intensity of relations between Czechoslovakia and People's Korea. He voiced the conviction that contacts between the legislative bodies are an important contribution to strengthening friendly relations between the two countries in the spirit of the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed last September.

He acquainted the guest with the character of changes currently taking place in Czechoslovakia in all spheres of the economic, political and social life.

Yang Hyong-sop informed Milos Jakes of the situation in People's Korea, mainly of its economic and social development. He pointed out the two countries' identity of opinion in evaluating the present international situation, and appreciated assistance granted by Czechoslovakia to the efforts of People's Korea for a peaceful democratic reunification of Korea.

The same day, the delegation was received by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak.

The two sides stated with satisfaction that Czechoslovak-Korean relations have achieved a high level and are successfully developing in the spirit of this year's treaty of friendship and cooperation and the conclusions of the talks between the two countries' highest representatives.

In this connection, they emphasized the usefulness of the exchange of experiences and personal meetings of deputies of the parliaments of Czechoslovakia and People's Korea, and voiced the conviction that further extension of bilateral cooperation is in the benefit to the two countries' peoples as well as a contribution to strengthening of cooperation of the whole socialist community and world peace.

Urban Holds Talks With Bulgaria's Khristov

AU0512142388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Dec 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Khristo Khristov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in Prague on Wednesday [30 November]. They assessed topical issues of mutual goods exchange in 1989 and some other issues concerning the bilateral economic

cooperation between the CSSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The talks were attended by Toncho Chakurov, Bulgaria's ambassador to the CSSR.

Fojtik-Led Delegation Visits Greece

*LD0212094188 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
2100 GMT 1 Dec 88*

[Text] A CPCZ delegation led by Jan Fojtik arrived this evening on a visit to Athens, where it will be attending the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Greece. Greeting the delegation at Athens Airport was Kostas Tsolakis, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, and other party officials.

SFRY Greeted on National Holiday

*AU0112140788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
29 Nov 88 p 1*

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, has sent Stipe Suvar, President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, a greetings telegram on the SFRY's national holiday—the 45th anniversary of the day of the republic.

Apart from other things, the telegram states: The heroic fight of the Yugoslav people for their national and social liberation has entered history as an integral part of the worldwide class struggle for social justice and progress; the day of 29 November 1943 has laid the foundations of new Socialist Yugoslavia.

The Czechoslovak communists and the working people of our country feel profound respect for the sacrifices made by the Yugoslav people in their antifascist and national liberation struggle, as well as for the results achieved by them in building socialism in the SFRY.

I take the present opportunity to express our sincere interest in a further comprehensive development of relations between our fraternal parties, nations, and states in the spirit of comradely cooperation and traditional friendship.

CSSR President Gustav Husak sent Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, a congratulatory telegram on the SFRY's national holiday. In the telegram he stated, among other things: On the occasion of the SFRY's national holiday—the day of the republic—we send you, all members of the SFRY Presidency, and all Yugoslav people most cordial congratulations and comradely greetings. We in the CSSR recall 29 November 1943 as a significant landmark in the life of the Yugoslav people in their courageous struggle against fascism and for national and social liberation. We feel sincere respect for the traditional friendly relations between the CSSR and SFRY, and between the fraternal nations of our two socialist countries. We are convinced that these relations and our mutual cooperation will continue to develop successfully and be comprehensively intensified for the benefit of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav people in the interests of strengthening peace, security, socialism, and progress throughout the world. I take the present opportunity to wish you and all Yugoslav people many new successes and a lot of creative energy to reach the demanding goals aimed at providing for a further successful development of socialist society in your country.

Leaders Greet Albanian Counterparts

*AU0112130988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
29 Nov 88 p 1*

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Negotiations, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of Albania's National Day.

Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and the CSSR Central Trade Union Council have sent congratulatory telegrams to their respective partners in Albania.

SFRY's Dizdarevic on Official, 'Friendly' Visit

Met Upon Arrival

LD0712144288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1143 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived this morning in Berlin, in the official and friendly visit to the GDR at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee chairman of the State Council. The guest from Yugoslavia was received and greeted by his host at the Schoenefeld airport. Raif Dizdarevic and aides were given at the Berlin airport the cordial welcome reserved for top foreign statesmen.

This afternoon Raif Dizdarevic will lay a wreath at the memorial to victims of fascism and militarism in the center of Berlin, and immediately afterwards top level talks will start at the State Council. This evening Erich Honecker is giving a dinner for his guest, at which toasts will be exchanged.

Received by Honecker

LD0712105388 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1017 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has today arrived in the GDR for a 3-day official friendship visit. He was given a very warm welcome by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR's Council of State, at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport.

Leaders Discuss Ties, Disarmament

LD0712154288 East Berlin in ADN International
Service in German 1454 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker and the president of the SFRY Presidency, Raif Dizdarevic, met this afternoon at Council of State Building in Berlin for an initial friendly exchange of opinions. The talks focused on the further shaping of relations between the two countries as well as current issues of securing peace and disarmament. Afterwards, the official talks between the two heads of state began in which other members of the GDR state and party leadership, as well as officials in the guest's entourage, are taking part.

Erich Honecker and Raif Dizdarevic stated that cooperation between both countries had reached a high level. It is in the interests of the people of both countries to work efficiently for the further consolidation of friendship and comprehensive cooperation. Both statesmen expressed their conviction that the current visit to the GDR by Raif Dizdarevic would serve this concern and convey fresh impetus.

Honors Victims of Facism

LD0712154788 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1434 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The president of the SFRY Presidency, Raif Dizdarevic, this afternoon honored the victims of fascism and militarism in Berlin with a wreath. Dizdarevic, who at 17 took part in the Yugoslav popular liberation struggle, bowed before the eternal flame and the memorial plaques for the unknown resistance fighter and the unknown soldier in the memorial on Unter den Linden. [passage omitted]

Trade Protocol With Poland Signed

AU0312181188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 1 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [30 November] in Berlin, Dietrich Lemke, GDR deputy minister of foreign trade, and Helmuth Floeth, PPR deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation, signed the protocol on goods deliveries and services between the GDR and the PPR in 1989.

Based on the long-term trade agreement for the 1986-90 period, the protocol envisages a further increase in goods exchange, in which products of machine building and electrical engineering and electronics will dominate. The GDR will mainly deliver machine tools, lifting and transportation equipment, machinery for the textile and printing industries, products of scientific instrument building, office and computer technology, and electronic components.

Imports from Poland will particularly comprise equipment for the metallurgical industry; conveyor belt facilities for brown coal open pit mining; measuring, control, and regulating equipment; air conditioning and air filtration facilities; and electronic components. The traditional mutual deliveries of raw materials and fuels, semifinished products, and products of the chemical, light, and foodstuffs industries will be continued. In GDR exports, this particularly affects potassium fertilizers, and in imports hard coal and hard coal coke, sulphur, and carbon bisulphides. Furthermore, the protocol envisages an extensive exchange of consumer goods.

The next steps to safeguard the high continuity of deliveries between the GDR and the PPR in 1989 were the subject of a talk between Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil and Helmuth Floeth on the same day.

Navigation Agreement Signed With USSR

AU0212202788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 1 Dec 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Further cooperation in the sphere of inland navigation between the GDR and the Soviet Union was stipulated in Berlin on Wednesday [30 November]. Deputy Transportation Minister Heinz

Rentner and Nikolay Smirnov, deputy minister of the river fleet of the RSFSR, signed a protocol which contains challenging tasks for the next year and the most important cooperation guidelines through 1995.

Fourth Large Ferry Starts Operation
AU2811190188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 26-27 Nov 88 p 1

[Excerpt] Wismar (ND)—On Friday [25 November] the Mathias-Thiesen Shipyard handed over the fourth railway freight ferry to the Deutfracht shipping agency in Rostock for the Mukran-Klaipeda route. Like its sister boats "Mukran" and "Klaipeda," the 190-meter long "Greifswald" ferry is capable of carrying 103 freight cars. Thus, the GDR and the Soviet Union have two large ferries each on the Mukran-Klaipeda route. [Passage omitted]

2 Sentenced for Violating 'Transit Agreement'
LD0612152988 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1508 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin City Court today sentenced FRG citizens Fred Gieseke and Marita Gottre to 6 ½ years and 2 years and 3 months respectively for crimes committed contrary to Paragraph 105 of the penal code. The Mercedes 115 D with the registration number NI-CU 162 used in the crime was confiscated. It was proved in the trial that Gieseke and Gottre had allowed themselves to be recruited by gang boss Fuerch. Instructed by him personally, they carried out several subversive crimes contrary to the transit agreement and were arrested in flagrante delicto on 4 September by GDR security organs.

National People's Army Delegation Visits Sweden
AU3011121688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 29 Nov 88 p 2

[Jochen Preussler report: "Swedish Defense Minister Receives GDR Officers; Colonel General Fritz Streletz Discusses Peace Policy"]

[Text] Stockholm—A National People's Army [NVA] delegation, headed by Colonel General Fritz Streletz, GDR deputy defense minister and chief of the NVA Main Staff, arrived in Stockholm on Monday [28 November]. Its visit is in response to the invitation by General Bengt Gustafsson, commander-in-chief of the Swedish Armed Forces. The NVA delegation was received with military ceremonies in the Defense Staff of the Swedish Armed Forces.

The official talks between Col Gen Streletz and Gen Gustafsson took place in an open and friendly atmosphere. During the subsequent meeting with Roine Carlsson, defense minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, the head of the NVA delegation conveyed the greetings of Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense, which were cordially returned. Both sides stressed the

good relations between the armed forces of the two countries and paid tribute to the agreement on the basic questions of peace, disarmament, and detente.

Col Gen Streletz discussed the GDR's peace policy and pointed out that the confidence-building measures which were agreed upon at the Stockholm conference have already proved successful in practice. Minister Carlsson stressed that his country positively evaluates the first steps on the path of disarmament. This course has to be continued and the 174-year period of peace is a commitment for Sweden to continue this course.

In the course of their 3-day stay, The NVA delegation will visit military units of the Swedish Military Services in Jaemtland, Oestersund, Oernskoeldsvik, and Berga.

Aids Test To Be Required of Some Visitors
LD0612181988 Hamburg DPA in German
1720 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—Visitors from other countries who intend to stay in the GDR for longer than 3 months must now produce proof of an AIDS test. This arises from a note from the GDR's Foreign Ministry sent to embassies and other diplomatic missions in East Berlin which became known today. Such long-term foreign visitors who "refuse to have an HIV anti-body test" or are ascertained to be AIDS carriers must leave the GDR immediately.

It was pointed out by the relevant authorities in East Berlin that the obligation to prove such a test does not apply to persons making regular visits to relatives and friends or tourism. Also foreign citizens who have their "permanent abode" in the GDR and "members of diplomatic missions and consular representations" are exempt. [passage omitted]

Catholic Church Paper To Be Published Weekly
AU0612094188 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Dec 88 p 3

[Summary] Berlin, 5 December, KNA—The GDR church has officially announced the weekly publication of the Catholic paper TAG DES HERRN in Leipzig as of 1 January 1989. Since the founding of the paper in 1951 it has been published only every two weeks. TAG DES HERRN is published by the Berlin Bishops' Conference, has a circulation of 100,000 copies, and comprises eight pages.

Further Modernization of Commercial Fleet Planned
AU0612093988 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Dec 88 p 18

[Summary] The GDR state-owned Maritime Traffic and Port Management Combine, Deutfracht/Shipping Company, Rostock, which is not only responsible for the 3

Baltic Sea ports of Rostock, Wismar, and Stralsund, but also for the commercial fleet comprising 171 ships with a total tonnage of about 1.8 million tonnes, is experiencing a slight upward development. According to Combine spokesman Gerd Peters, "slight growth rates in commercial shipping" are expected "for the near future." The GDR commercial fleet, which values about M4.5 billion at present, is to be further modernized; the GDR also plans to extend its regular services in maritime navigation. The recent establishment of a competitive container fleet (15 of the 26 container ships were put into service between 1985 and 1988) is to be continued, and the port of Rostock is also to be further expanded.

In 1988, like in 1987, more than 13 million tonnes of goods will be transported, 58 percent of which within the GDR's own foreign trade activities. In 1987, freight transport for third parties amounted to about 5.7 million tonnes of a total of 13.1 million tonnes. In 1987, cargo handling in the three Baltic Sea ports amounted to about 24.8 million tonnes (19.8 million tonnes in Rostock) and is to be increased to 25.8 million tonnes this year. The Rostock Combine employs 24,500 people, 8,500 of whom are seamen.

Resolution on Pension Increase Reported
AU0312180788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 1 Dec 88 p 3

[*"Joint Resolution of the SED Central Committee, the FDGB Central Executive Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers on the Further Raising of Minimum Pensions and Other Pensions, of 30 November 1988"*]

[Text] In implementing the SED program and the decisions of the 11th SED Congress for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in continuing the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy on the basis of the proposal of the 11th FDGB Congress, minimum pensions and other pensions will be further raised as of 1 December 1989.

Thanks to the outstanding achievements of the workers class, the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia, and all working people, in the 40th year of its existence, the GDR proves to be a socialist state that guarantees social security and protection to all its citizens on the solid foundation of steady, stable development of the national economy.

Our senior citizens have an important share in the successful development of the GDR. They, the veterans of work and the activists of the first hour, deserve the great respect and appreciation of our society.

Proceeding from this, the SED Central Committee, the FDGB Central Executive Council, and the GDR Council of Ministers decide the following:

I. Increase of Minimum Pensions and Minimum Amounts of Old-Age Pensions and Disability and Accident Benefits

1. Minimum old-age pensions and disability benefits will be raised by M30 to M330.

2. The minimum amounts of old-age pensions and disability benefits paid depending on the number of work years will be raised as follows:

Number of Years Worked	Minimum Amount		Raise
	until now	as of 1 Dec 1989 —in marks—	
15 to under 20	310	340	30
20 to under 25	320	350	30
25 to under 30	330	370	40
30 to under 35	340	390	50
35 to under 40	350	410	60
40 to under 45	360	430	70
45 and more	370	470	100

3. For women who have borne five and more children and have a claim on old-age pensions or disability benefits from compulsorily insurable work, the minimum amount will be raised from M370 to M470.

4. The minimum amount of accident benefits for persons with a disability of 66 and ⅓ percent will be raised from M370 to M470.

II. Increase of Other Old-Age Pensions and Disability and Accident Benefits

1. Old-age pensions and disability benefits that are higher than the current minimum amounts will be raised as follows depending on the number of work years:

Years Worked	Raise
Under 25	M30
25 to under 30	M40
30 to under 35	M50
35 to under 40	M60
40 to under 45	M70

If a person has worked for 45 and more years, pensions above the minimum amounts will be raised by M70 to M100.

2. Old-age pensions and disability benefits paid to persons who receive an additional old-age pension of the intelligentsia will be raised by M30 to M70 depending on the number of work years.

3. The fixed amount paid in addition to disability benefits will be raised from M80 to M150 in case of a disability of $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ percent and from M20 to M50 in case of a disability of more than 50 percent but under 66 and $\frac{1}{4}$ percent.

III. Increase of Survivors' Benefits

1. Minimum benefits will be raised

—by M30 to M330 for widows and widowers;

—by M35 to M165 for half-orphans;

—by M40 to M220 for full orphans.

2. Survivors' benefits that are higher than the current minimum benefits as well as benefits to relatives of late recipients of an additional old-age pension of the intelligentsia will be derived from the increased pension.

3. Survivors' accident benefits will be raised as follows;

—by M30 for widows (widowers) of an accident victim, who get their pension because of old age, disability, or the need to care for children;

—by M35 for half-orphans of accident victims;

—by M40 for full orphans of accident victims.

IV. Increase of Other Pensions

1. Full pensions for war-disabled persons will be raised from M370 to M470.

2. The maximum amount of regular support payments will be raised from M270 to M330.

3. The allowance for spouses paid in addition to pensions will be raised from M150 to M200.

4. Children's allowances paid in addition to old-age pensions, disability and accident benefits, and pensions for war-disabled persons will be raised to M60.

5. Social welfare benefits will be raised by M30 for single citizens, by M60 for couples, and by M15 for children.

V. Increase of New Pensions

The raises mentioned in sections I to IV will also be applicable to all new pension claims as of 1 December 1989.

The legal provisions will be issued by the GDR Council of Ministers in agreement with the FDGB Central Executive Council.

SED Releases Agenda for 12th SED Congress LD0212230788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1758 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—By order of the Seventh Session of the SED Central Committee, the 12th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has been convened to Berlin for the period 15 to 19 May 1990. The agenda is as follows:

1. Opening and set up of the 12th SED Congress: Horst Sindermann;

2. Report by the SED Central Committee to the 12th SED Congress, speaker: Erich Honecker;

3. Report by the SED Central Auditing Commission, speaker: Kurt Seibt;

4. Discussion;

5. Passing of resolutions;

6. Presentation to the 12th SED Congress on the 5-year plan for national economic development in the years 1991-1995, speaker: Willi Stoph;

7. Discussion;

8. Passing of resolutions; and

9. Elections to the leading party organs.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 24-30 Nov

AU0212191588 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 25 November to 1 December reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

Kurt Hager, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council, attended the 10th Congress of the GDR Graphic Artists' Association in Berlin on 24 November. (25 November, p 1)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received outgoing U.S. Ambassador Francis Joseph Meehan in Berlin on 29 November. (30 November, p 2)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, handed over the 300,000th apartment in Halle on 28 November. (29 November, p 1)

Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception in the SFRY Embassy in Berlin on 28 November. (29 November, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, handed over the 250,000th apartment in Magdeburg on 30 November. (1 December, p 1)

Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception given by PLO Ambassador 'Isam Kamal Salim in Berlin on 25 November. (26-27 November, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, awarded the Friedrich-Engels Prize to collectives on 28 November. (29 November, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler welcomed Major General Guenter Werner as new commandant of the Military Medicine Academy in Berlin on 30 November. (1 December, p 2)

Guenter Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a reception given by Albanian Ambassador Ilir Bocka in Berlin on 29 November. (30 November, p 2)

Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received French industrialists in Berlin on 30 November. (1 December, p 1)

Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received a delegation of the Central Executive Committee of the German Railroad Employees Union in the DGB in Berlin on 25 November. (26-27 November, pp 1-2)

Harry Tisch received Palestinian trade unionists in Berlin on 30 November. (1 December, pp 1, 3)

KISZ Demonstration Planned for 6 Dec
AU0712124388 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 6 Dec 88 p 4

[Zsuzsa Lang's report: "Youth Demonstration on Margit Island in Budapest Prior to the KISZ-Government Meeting"]

[Excerpts] No doubt, many people were surprised by the unusual tone of leaflets published by the KISZ and distributed to every Budapest district. At a press conference held by the KISZ Central Committee on 5 December, Janos Gonczi, secretary of the KISZ Central Committee; Peter Kiss, first secretary of the Budapest KISZ Committee; and Tibor Jakab, secretary of the Pest County KISZ Committee, said that the KISZ leaders meant to stress the upcoming KISZ-government meeting with these leaflets, which contain nine demands and which are also invitations to the peaceful demonstration to be held on Margit Island on 6 December.

At this KISZ-government meeting, which has become a traditional meeting, the KISZ will demand an immediate solution to the most urgent problems facing young people and a possible easing of their problems.

Although the leaflet and the appeal for demonstration deal with only one issue, namely the demand for proper housing conditions for the young people, this will not be the only issue on the agenda of the upcoming KISZ-government meeting. Employment policy issues, which closely affect young people, too, including their right to a first job and to unemployment benefits, are similarly urgent problems to be discussed, Janos Gonczi pointed out. [passage omitted]

Answering the journalists' questions, the KISZ leaders said that, according to the original plan, this demonstration was to be held in Kossuth Square, but the KISZ did not receive a license for assembly here. One of the reasons for this is that the authorities do not want Kossuth Square to become an area for demonstrations. [passage omitted]

Demonstration Banned by Authorities
AU0712100088 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
7 Dec 88 p 2

["P.M." article: "Budapest Bans Demonstration of Communist Youth Association"]

[Text] Budapest-Vienna—The Hungarian authorities have banned a mass rally organized by the KISZ. Instead of a political demonstration in front of the parliament, a happening was held in Margit Island on Tuesday evening [6 December]

"Changes cannot be achieved without the support of the masses," was the message contained in a KISZ appeal last week. The main target of criticism is the disastrous

housing situation of young people, which will be exacerbated in 1989 when the government reduces construction activities. At the mass rally the young people also intended to call for the right to work, for unemployment benefits for school-leavers who are looking for jobs, as well as for an increase in the budget for scholarships and teaching.

The police apparently banned the demonstration because all participants had been requested to bring along a brick to symbolically construct an apartment. Ironically enough, the police "suggested" to the organizers that they hold a happening in Margit Island, where they "should build a tin village."

National Council for Youth Organizations Formed
LD2811101588 Budapest MTI in English
2007 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—27 Organizations founded the National Council of the Youth Organizations in Hungary (MISZOT) in Budapest on Sunday. The interest coordinating forum was set up on the initiative of KISZ. Any youth organization rallying 500 people can apply for membership.

The inauguration meeting was attended and addressed by Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and minister of state. In his address Mr Pozsgay pointed out that the reform of the system of political institutions provide the background also for the foundation of MISZOT.

The general meeting elected Istvan Stumpf, president of the preparatory committee, as president. On the occasion Istvan Stumpf told 'VASARNAPI HIREK':

Respecting the autonomy of its member organizations MISZOT would like to get an insight into government's decisions related to youth. It is to apply for membership at the National Council of Interest Coordination.

Grosz Interviewed by Spanish Papers

Queried on Pluralism
PM3011121288 Madrid ABC in Spanish
10 Nov 88 pp 38-39

[Interview with MSZMP First Secretary Karoly Grosz by Jose Grau in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Budapest—MSZMP First Secretary Karoly Grosz will visit Spain in a few days' time. Grosz is still prime minister at the same time as being party leader. However, he has already announced that he is going to relinquish the former post in order—as he himself stated in an interview granted to ABC—to concentrate on party leadership tasks.

"The two roles are not incompatible; they can be performed at the same time, but I will no longer do so. If I were more intelligent and younger, I could do so, but not like this. It is I who have requested this." The conversation took place in Karoly Grosz' office at the Hungarian parliament (an imitation, from the stylistic viewpoint, of the British Parliament). In the course of the interview it became quite clear what are the characteristics of the regime now running Hungary.

In the first place, there is a very clear limit to the so-called "political pluralism" of which there is often talk in Hungary: Only the existence of associations or groups which do not endanger the Communist Party's control will be accepted. There can be no question at all of Hungary's intending to introduce something like "political parties" as they are understood in the West.

Grosz made clear more than once that he is a loyal ally—among the most loyal—of the Soviet Union. This friendship will in no way be jeopardized. For instance, Grosz endorsed the view, which suits Moscow very well, that the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary is possible only in the framework of an overall agreement between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, although the troops stationed here have been here since the invasion of Hungary by the USSR in 1956.

The top Hungarian politician stressed that "the question does not arise" of Hungarian troops assisting Warsaw Pact troops if "counterrevolutionary tendencies" occurred in one of the pact states, and it sought to shake off its ties with the Soviet Union. Grosz warned that an attempt to change the spheres of influence in Europe would mean a catastrophe on an unforeseeable scale.

Where reforms can be seen is in the economy. In fact here there is nothing but contradictions: Basically, it is a matter of applying the market economy in a country in which the Communist Party must hold power. Nevertheless, this is progress, if you like. Hungary wishes to intensify relations with the Common Market. He asserted that the laws will be changed to the extent necessary for foreigners not to be afraid at all of investing here. He also wants to change them in such a way that the role played by private enterprises in the economy as a whole will be much greater.

Here are some of the most important questions and answers in the interview with Karoly Grosz:

[Grosz] How do you see pluralism in the National Front (a mass movement controlled by the party)? Specifically, how do you see the role of social democratic groups within the National Front?

[Grosz] According to our ideas, pluralism is much broader than the presence of a social democratic tendency. According to our idea of pluralism, all tendencies differing from the tendencies in the workers movement can take part, unless they have the aim of ousting the

system. The social democratic mentality is not an element within the party, because a social democratic mentality is not wanted by just one sector within the party; it is the MSZMP as such which has its origin in the social democratic traditions of the whole world. So it is a matter not of changes within the party but of changes in the party's mentality.

[Grosz] What scope for maneuver do the groups which do not seek the fall of the system have now? From a Western viewpoint, it is difficult to reconcile Marxism-Leninism with political pluralism, which for many years it has regarded as anathema but which now seems to be fashionable in Hungary.

[Grosz] I believe that this is rather unusual, but I suggest that you endeavor to understand it, because this search will not be unique on the part of the Hungarians, since it is the Soviet Union, which hitherto had more orthodox methods, which is changing most nowadays.

[Grosz] A new law on relations with the Church is currently being prepared. Recently, there have also been complaints by some bishops, who are not satisfied with religious freedom in Hungary. What can you tell us about this? For instance, will the religious orders be able to operate freely under a new law? Also, what can you tell us about the pope's visit? Is it now certain?

[Grosz] You must ask the pope the last question, because we have invited him and are ready to receive him. He has accepted in principle, but I can say no more about this. As regards the law on the Church, the basic agreement is now 30 years old, and many things have happened in those 30 years. The new law aims to embody the changes which have occurred and should lay down the rules for the future. This is very natural, and it is at the government's initiative—not the bishops' initiative. As regards the bishops' complaints, I would be surprised if that were true, because I spent a whole day with the bishops in this very building 6 months ago. And I will quote a bishop who said at that time that it was a historic occasion. It was the first time that all Hungary's representatives had been seated at the same table. There was no talk of complaints there. There were two requests. One was that protestant secondary education be restored. We told them that that was no problem. The other request was that the cases of young people not wishing to perform military service on the ground of conscientious objection be reconsidered.

[Grosz] What about the religious orders—freedom for all the Catholic religious orders?

[Grosz] We have already made this clear. The orders which served the fascist regime under the previous system will not be able to operate. For us this is a matter of principle, just as we do not allow bourgeois fascist organizations to operate, either. However, we do not

deem the elimination of the charitable orders justified. If they wish to reestablish them, let them do so. But we do not want those which were loyal to the previous regime. Our position is very clear.

[Graul] On several occasions recently Hungary has criticized the way CEMA (the "Common Market" of Moscow's allies) operates. In your opinion, what are CEMA's greatest shortcomings? What do you believe must be improved?

[Grosz] It is a very cumbersome mechanism, like an overweight elephant. The time it takes to make decisions is very long.... It moves so slowly because decisions must be taken unanimously. Of course, many aspects of the organization can be changed, but this is not the basic problem. The basic problem is that the pricing system differs greatly in the various countries, their foreign exchange policy also differs greatly, and it is difficult to coordinate the various rates... [Grosz ends]

As regards the problems with Romania (for several months Romanian-Hungarian relations have been very bad because of the oppression suffered by the Hungarians living in Transylvania—a region which now belongs to Romania), Grosz confirmed that a Hungarian delegation will be able to visit Transylvania this month, although it is not yet known when, in order to try to find out how in fact they are being treated.

[Graul] You will soon be visiting Spain. Do you have any specific plan, apart from the obvious intention of improving relations?

[Grosz] Since you ask me the question so directly, I will give you a direct answer, too. I would like to know Spain's secret—how it has been able to achieve a change of structure so quickly, and how it has been able to stimulate economic development so quickly. If I am given some advice in Spain, I believe that the journey will not be in vain.

Addresses Domestic Issues
PM2311155088 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA
in Spanish 10 Nov 88 p 21

[Ricardo Estarriol dispatch on interview with Chairman of Hungarian Council of Ministers Karoly Grosz: "Karoly Grosz Interested in Rapid Process of Political Change Experienced in Spain"—date and place not given]

[Text] Budapest—"We are interested to know how Spain managed to carry out its change of structures so quickly," Hungarian Government leader Karoly Grosz said in statements to LA VANGUARDIA on the occasion of his imminent official visit to Madrid.

In his remarks the head of the Hungarian Government—who is to resign his prime ministership on 24 November to devote himself more to his post as Communist Party

secretary general—specified that it was he himself who asked to be released from his government duties when the Communist Party elected him secretary general in May.

"My task within the party," he said, "will be to set the major political reforms in motion, whereas the economy must be the government's responsibility. I realize that this cannot fail to produce conflicts, which can only be resolved if the government enjoys a solid and well-organized 'foundation,' that is—the Hungarian Communist Party and a public mobilized by the party."

With reference to political pluralism Grosz said that the party must "open up to ideas and intellectual stances different from the party's previous stances." At several points in the interview Grosz indicated the political limits of this dialogue—stances whose aim is to bring down the present communist system. Furthermore he stated that conditions must be created for the activity of various existing or future political groupings "whose programs differ from that of the National Front," as long as these groups are not "extremist." However, Grosz did not define what he understands by "extremist." Be that as it may, as far as he is concerned the opposition is not confined to social democrats, whose contributions, he said, have been part of the Communist Party's ideology—"for the past 15 years and more, and have not only just become so. For us, pluralism means much more than social democrats."

According to Janos Kadar's successor "no socialist country has made a more drastic break with its Stalinist past than the Soviet party" [sentence as published]. In his opinion this is also a guarantee that the Hungarian reform model will not be the only one. The Hungarian politician asserted with striking emphasis that "Hungary has never believed itself to be in the vanguard of reform."

The Hungarian parliamentary reform plan is logically consistent with the aforementioned conception of limited pluralism: "We will not accept candidates whose platform is directed against the system." Accord to Prime Minister Grosz a projected second chamber—a plan still at the initial discussion phase—would be a kind of institutional chamber for "official" social organizations representing the interests of trade union-type bodies or other groups, but not political organizations.

However, it is not clear how the constitutional reform will be carried out: Whereas he believes that it would be best to prepare the reform (to include a reform of electoral law) before the end of the legislative term, "others" advocate a more radical process—that the end of the legislative term be awaited, that elections be held for a constituent assembly, and that this assembly be allowed to draw up a new constitution.

Economic Changes

In the field of economic reforms Grosz knows that he can only attract Western capital if he permits the creation of enterprises with at least 51 percent Western capital, so the famous 49 percent limit will not exist. Foreign enterprises will be able to contribute 100 percent of the capital. If the Hungarian state considers it advantageous to have some influence within these enterprises it will try to purchase stock in them but will never resort to "technical administrative measures."

Not without a hint of humor, Grosz expressed confidence that market laws will duly influence the conduct of private sector enterprises, adding: "However, we do not yet know—and nobody has managed to demonstrate—what happens when state enterprises function under market laws." The Hungarian politician stressed that "we fervently believe that it will be possible, though some people believe that this makes us mental deficients. Well, that is their concern."

Hungary's advantage as a small country is its scale: Discussing the profitability of its coal mines, Grosz presented a very complete picture of the three mines that are being closed because they are unprofitable. Some 9,000 workers will lose their jobs.

Despite Hungary's constant criticisms of the functioning of CEMA, Karoly Grosz said that he was not considering leaving it.

Pozsgay Participates in Debate on Central Europe
AU0612100188 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Dec 88 p 6

[G. H. Schmitt report: "East European Countries Individually on the Way into the Common Home"]

[Excerpts] 5 December—For the first time a member of the Hungarian party leadership and government has stated his position with regard to the debate on central Europe. At the Arnoldshain Evangelical Academy, State Minister Pozsgay, who is also a member of the MSZMP Politburo, called central Europe a "step toward entering Europe," and noted that the strengthening of human and civil rights in his country are the appropriate "entrance ticket." Pozsgay expressed the Hungarian conviction that "the East European countries are individually embarking on the path toward the common European home."

This was rejected by SPD Bundestag group foreign policy spokesman Voigt. Voigt is a member of the party's Executive Committee. He cited the principles of FRG foreign policy in dealing with the individual East European countries without making any differences and "never to set apart one country alone." [passage omitted]

Pozsgay affirmed that his country, "which belongs both to central Europe and to all of Europe," is interested in the Council of Europe but also in regional working groups, which transcend the blocs, such as the "Alps-Adriatic" group. Hungary's Evangelical Bishop Toth stressed that the ideas of the integration or even unity of Europe play an important role for the churches. He called on the politicians to develop more ideas in this direction. It has been precisely the weak point of the churches in the communist states that they did not have enough "dreams," thus not sufficiently realizing and using the chances provided by reality.

Vienna's Vice Mayor Busek, an OeVP politician, called the idea of central Europe the result of the "unbearableness of reality" in the affected countries. [passage omitted]

The day before, State Minister Pozsgay explained his interpretation of the central European idea and of the Hungarian way. He said it was a mistake that since the end of World War II it had been prohibited "to think in terms of central Europe" and that the division was the political program. "Common interests can also have other forms than those developed after 1945." The logic of division has affected the people, therefore "we could not come to terms with the past or the future, either." Because history contains "certain messages on alternatives in Eastern Europe," and looking toward the future "has also shown alternative consequences." Instead of this, everyday life is being administered in a pragmatic way, Pozsgay deplored. Politics must reconsider the concept of "being European"—for the Hungarians this term means occidental tradition—he requested, pointing to the fact that for centuries, Hungary has been "European and central European" at the same time, as Budapest historian Benda had noted. This means that Hungary has not only thought of and conducted a regional but also a continental policy. Like the Hungarian-French politologist Kende, Pozsgay was convinced that "central Europe is an idea rather than a program." It is, however, no coincidence that Hungary is conducting about four-fifths of its foreign trade relations with this region, that is—with the two German states, the CSSR, Poland, Austria, and Yugoslavia, and has opened up toward Austria "while maintaining its loyalty to its alliance." In this respect it is not nostalgic reminiscence that is important but the fact that Austria is neutral and that "therefore, opening up has been less dangerous."

The social ideologist seems to consider the political reforms even more important than economic capacity for Hungary's participation "in the European status." Going back to private ownership and capable sovereign citizens are the preconditions for this, Pozsgay said. He affirmed his state and civil rights program that was recently approved by the Budapest parliament. Soviet perestroika and glasnost have not only provided new opportunities for Hungary's internal reforms but also "for the central European contacts." There are neither

rules nor preconditions; the legitimacy of any pressure has collapsed. Nevertheless, the state minister warned: "It would be irresponsible to exclude the danger of a relapse."

Janos Hoos Addresses National Assembly
LD2511021288 Budapest MTI in English
2315 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—In the Thursday session of the Hungarian National Assembly, Janos Hoos, president of the National Planning Office, presented a report on the implementation of the government's economic stabilization programme and the economic policy tasks for 1989. He spoke of the country's difficulties inherited from the past 15 years as a consequence of world economic changes, belated economic policy measures, and incorrect decisions.

Mr Hoos said that the high stock of debts in convertible currency is one of the gravest problems. In 1970, the gross convertible-currency debts of Hungary amounted to 1,000 million dollars. By late 1980, the debts climbed to 9,100 million dollars, and in 1987 surpassed 17,000 million. This year the interest service will surpass 1,000 million dollars, and the principal service exceeds 2,000 million dollars. Together with the import exceeding 5,000 million dollars, it constitutes an aggregate payment obligation of 8-9,000 million dollars. Exports and the balance of non-commercial items cover about 6,500 million dollars. To meet the obligations, the country requires additional loans to the value of 2,000-2,500 million dollars. "But our debt burdens will further increase in the 1990s which we cannot, and do not want to, finance exclusively with new loans. In order to preserve our solvency, we must stop the increasing trend of debts. We must work so a growing proportion of interest service, and then the whole, can be covered from the surplus balance of convertible-currency payments, Mr Hoos pointed out. Then the president of the National Planning Office spoke about the deteriorating terms of trade with the socialist countries in the past 15 years.

Mr Hoos pointed out that the scope of the country's economic policy is also narrowed by the obsolete economic pattern. In recent years, the competitiveness and position of the Hungarian economy have been downgraded on the world market.

The government's economic stabilization programme worked out for about three years sought a way out of this situation. So far one year has elapsed. In general, it can be established that, in fulfilling the chief aims of the programme, we made an advance. It is our fundamental interest to preserve the solvency of the country. From this aspect, we have implemented the pro rata temporis part of the programme. The rate of growth of the debt stock has slowed down to a considerable extent. We have achieved a turn in the balance of hard-currency trade turnover. The surplus of non-rouble accounting trade is to exceed the planned 250 million dollars. This is an

improvement of 600 million dollars as compared to last year. The quantitative targets of production will be met and gross domestic product is to increase by 1 per cent, as planned. Taking the improving terms of trade into account, growth will approach 2 per cent.

The inevitable reduction of consumption is a condition of economic stabilization. In 1988, the consumption of the population decreased considerably. The consumer price level increased by 16 per cent, 1 per cent more than planned.

Mr Hoos spoke of the conception of economic development in 1989. Version A proposes an economic policy that forces powerful structural shifts on the Hungarian economy, in the interest of integration in the world market and improving its competitiveness.

In 1989, almost 300,000 million forints will be allocated to investment projects: 1,000 million dollars, 150-200 million more than this year, will be spent on the importation and leasing of machinery and the purchase of licences. The government holds the position that laying burdens on the population in 1989 cannot be avoided but the burden will be less. Next year the population's consumption is to decrease by 1 per cent, as compared to 3 per cent this year, and per capita real income will decrease by 2 per cent. The consumer price level is to increase by 12-15 per cent, less than this year. Part of the price increases will be counterbalanced by welfare policy measures to the value of 16,000 million forints.

Budgetary expenditures on state administration will considerably decrease. The expenditure of the organs of state administration, local councils and the social organizations and organs, calculated in real value, are to decrease by 10 per cent, and defence expenditure by 3 per cent. As part of defence expenditure, the real value of financial allocations to maintain and operate the Hungarian People's Army will decrease by 7.5 per cent.

Our grave economic situation, sharpening social tensions and the burdens accompanying stabilization raise from time to time ideas that would find a way out through rescheduling our debts and hope that a step of this kind would broaden our scope of movement. In reality, rescheduling would not ease the problems related to the balance of payments. On the contrary, it would dramatically aggravate these problems and cause a short-term deterioration in particular. We would continue the interest service but acquire a lasting annual trade surplus of more than 1,000 million dollars, as compared to 250-300 million this year. The drastic cut of imports would make it unavoidable to reduce production considerably and massively halt productive capacities. There would be a crucial shortage of goods, living standards would decrease by 25-30 per cent, and the process of economic reform would be broken. These effects were

shown by the example of several countries that rescheduled. We consider the measures that would be necessary contrary to our fundamental interests, and that rescheduling has to be prevented, Mr Hoos said.

The debate over Mr Hoos' report lasted until the evening. On Friday, the parliamentary session is to continue with the discussion of this agenda point.

Press Conference Addresses Labor Issues
AU2311091688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 18 Nov 88 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Work Is Being Carried Out on Modernizing the Social Security System—Debated Issues in Modifying the Labor Code—The Bottom Tax-Free Bracket Will Increase—Why Was the 15 November Demonstration Broken Up?"—press conference held by Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan, with the participation of State Secretary Csaba Halmos, chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor, in Budapest, on 17 November]

[Excerpts] The Council of Ministers approved a written report submitted by MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz on his official visit to Austria.

The government approved the report on the plans connected with the reform of our political institutions and the pace of their implementation, which will be submitted to the National Assembly.

In harmony with the preparatory work on the draft bill on the rights of association and assembly, the modification of the parliament statute, the referendum, the introduction of alternative military service, and on the creation of a constitutional court, the Council of Ministers approved proposals on the modification of the relevant articles in the Constitution. These proposals will be submitted to the winter session of the National Assembly.

The government initiated the modification of the Labor Code and of the laws on personal income tax and on Treasury Bills.

The Council of Ministers discussed a report on modernizing the financing of social security and decided to submit to the National Assembly a draft law on the financial conditions for an independent operation of our social security system. [passage omitted]

Csaba Halmos said that, in connection with the modification of the Labor Code, the government and the trade unions had failed to bring their different perspectives closer on three issues. These differences concern the collective contracts, the right of the trade unions to agree, and the right to strike. [passage omitted]

NEPSZAVA: If I understand correctly, there has been no progress made by the trade unions and the government concerning the three issues that have been under debate for weeks and months. What does the government expect from a new SZOT-government meeting? Would it not be more expedient to take the issues to parliament and let it decide?

Csaba Halmos: It is true that the differences between the government and the trade unions concerning these three issues have not decreased. The National Trade Union Council [SZOT] did not even accept a compromise submitted by the government.

I, personally, do not expect much from a new SZOT-government meeting, and I also said this at this meeting. [passage omitted]

MTI-ECONews: In an interview published in the Warsaw daily ZYCZIE WARSZAWY, Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan said, among other things, that there were plans to create a top ministry in charge of several ministries in Hungary, namely to establish an economic ministry to include the Planning Office, the Finance Ministry, the State Office for Wages and Labor, and the Price Office. At the same time, the post of deputy premier would also be eliminated. Will you confirm this for the domestic press, too? When exactly will this take place? Would you tell us about the reasons for this measure?

Gyorgy Marosan: I would like to point out that this issue came up during my background discussions with the Polish journalist. I was talking about the directions of reform in our state administration, of the modernization of this state administration. I outlined several possibilities. This information is currently reflecting only concepts and no concrete decisions have emerged as yet.

MAGYAR HIRLAP: According to the draft law, the trade unions will initiate strikes, but these strikes can start on the basis of a decision made by a majority of workers. Will the majority of these workers, or all of them have to be trade union members? Who can initiate strikes in places where there is no trade union?

Csaba Halmos: In short, I can say that the trade unions can indeed initiate strikes, and it makes absolutely no difference whether a worker is a trade union member or not during secret votes. No strikes can be initiated in places where there is no trade union. [passage omitted]

Ministers Visit Construction Site in Tengiz
AU1811155888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 16 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] Laszlo Somogyi, minister of Construction and Urban Development, and Imre Szabo, state secretary for Industry, accompanied by Hungarian and Soviet experts, has paid a visit to Tengiz.

Laszlo Somogyi summed up the experiences of the visit:

"Construction is progressing with the concentration of huge forces, according to the so-called concluding plan worked out in April 1988 this year. Production must start in Tengiz in the first half of next year, and this is a realistic plan. It is still too early to evaluate the construction, but one can already conclude this much: Hungarian enterprises are carrying out their work well and in an organized way. Plan modifications, service problems, delays in the supply of certain installations and materials have occurred on the part of the Soviet enterprises, but our partners always try to solve these problems quickly." Laszlo Somogyi said that the supply of Soviet natural gas will commence in January, as payment for Hungarian participation in the project, according to the Yamburg agreement. In addition to the construction, Hungary also participates with machines, installations, and the supply of Western pipes purchased in exchange for Hungarian goods, and as overall payment, Hungary will receive the right to purchase 2 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually for 20 years. We will only have to start paying when the Soviet side has completed the supply of natural gas worth almost 760 million transferrable rubles agreed as payment for Hungarian cooperation. Laszlo Somogyi also said that the possibility is being considered of carrying out further work in Tengiz once the current Hungarian work agreed upon in the interstate contract has been completed.

Constitutional Committee Holds First Session
LD1711043088 Budapest MTI in English
2324 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—The committee for principal-political direction of the re-examination of the Constitution, which was set up affiliated to the HSWP Central Committee, held its founding and first working session on Wednesday [16 Nov].

The president of the body is Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee. The committee stated that research results to date make it unanimous that the major transformation of the Constitution in content and structure is justified. Therefore, it proposes to work out a new document. The committee holds it necessary for a future constitution not to be of a mainly declarative nature, but that it contain—in a more detailed form than at present—measures referring to the socio-political system, the economic order, the fundamental rights of citizens and their communities, and furthermore—on the basis of the principle of separating the branches of state power—measures referring to the state organization, as a genuine legal rule that can be directly applied.

Andras Gabor Elected Chamber of Commerce Head
LD2111175188 Budapest MTI in English
1608 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—During its Monday [21 November] session, the Presidium of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce elected Andras Gabor,

general director of the Tungsram Co., Ltd., the chamber's presidential member and chairman of its Czechoslovak section, as new president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. He received 37 of the possible 59 votes. Other candidates included Peter Dobrovits, general director of the Chemolimpex Foreign Trade Company, and Mihaly Juhasz, general director of the Paper Industry Company.

Pest Country Party Elects New First Secretary
LD1411163688 Budapest MTI in English
1830 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—The Pest Country committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held an extended session on Friday. The session heard a contribution by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP and prime minister. Lajos Krasznai was relieved by the body from his post as first secretary, with due recognition of his merits, because of other important commission. Csaba Hamori, member of the HSWP Political Committee, was elected first secretary of the Pest County party committee, with one vote against. The party committee reconfirmed Pal Balogh, Laszlo Lenar and Mrs S. Nagy in their functions as secretaries.

Grosz Visits Hungarian Television Studios
AU0712124588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 6 Dec 88 p 5

[Text] MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, accompanied by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz, paid a visit to Hungarian Television on 5 December. The guests were received by President Gyula Bereczky; Mrs Istvan Szucs, first secretary of the Budapest 5th District MSZMP Committee; and Laszlo Halak, secretary of the Hungarian Television party committee.

Karoly Grosz took the floor at the Hungarian Television working meeting where the workers spoke about the renewal of Hungarian Television and the planned structure of Program I and Program II of the Television.

Grosz Meets With U.S. Official Tom Lantos
LD3011184588 Budapest MTI in English
1719 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 30 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Tom Lantos, the Hungarian-born member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House of Representatives, at Central Committee Headquarters in Budapest on Wednesday.

The guest also met Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and president of the Metropolitan Council, and Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee and president of parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. Present at the talks was Mark Palmer, US ambassador to Hungary.

Grosz Delivers Speech at Paris Dinner
LD1811054788 Budapest MTI in English
0041 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Paris, November 17 (MTI)—On Thursday evening, French Prime Minister Michel Rocard hosted a gala dinner in honour of Karoly Grosz and his party. Toasts were delivered. Mr Grosz stated:

We expect that the current visit will encourage cooperation between the two countries.

On Hungary's situation, Mr Grosz said:

A period of Hungarian history has definitely come to an end. We have exhausted all possibilities provided by the previous framework of socialism for our political and economic development... the only feasible way of settling our problems is through the comprehensive renewal of our political and economic system, and the accomplishment of the reform process. Our political will to attain this aim remains firm and we hope it can be a basis for a new national consensus.

We wish to create a democratic, socialist state of law. To this effect, we started to reconstruct our public law as a whole, and set the aim of amending the constitution and the electoral law, and framing a series of laws to extend civil rights.

The economic reform process is aimed at creating conditions that guarantee the effective operation of the state, cooperative and private property, as well as foreign capital, and assist the Hungarian economy to approach the vanguard of world economy.

We are interested in the elements of French practice that we can take over, in particular ways of solving social welfare problems that accompany restructuring.

In a move to realize its programme of stabilization and advancement, the Hungarian Government pays keen attention to the exploration of foreign resources stemming from international cooperation. We see that our intentions coincide with the new aims of the French foreign economic policy, and I would like to state that Hungary is open to business relations.

We profess that "Hungary is our homeland and Europe our future...", and seek to strengthen cooperation with France in the interest of Europe, too. New interest relations and identity of interests are emerging in Europe which differ from the former, conventional concepts. The Eastern and Western parts of Europe can no longer afford to be interested in the failures and crises of the other side, only in joint development...only a united Europe can give successful answers to challenges from other continents. We feel the French foreign minister's conception of the direction pan-European cooperation should take is a sound basis for that. We welcome the proposals made by President Mitterrand at the U.N.

General Assembly session, which are similar to the initiatives of our alliance system. We are following with great interest the new East European tendencies in French foreign policy, and are supporting the opening by tapping the opportunities of Hungarian-French cooperation.

The first building bricks of historic importance of the new style of East-West relations are already in place. These "bricks" include the four Soviet-U.S. summits, the treaty on dismantling and destroying intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, and the two great powers' joint efforts to settle local crises with the active participation of the United Nations.

Simultaneously with the Vienna follow-up meeting, the 23 states belonging to the two military alliances are nearing completion in their efforts to elaborate the mandate of talks on conventional disarmament. We hope that genuine talks will be launched as early as this year. Hungary has a direct stake in being involved in the first phase of the process of reduction. Of course, the reduction of Hungarian armed forces and armaments and the withdrawal of Soviet military forces from Hungarian soil cannot be unilateral steps, but must be part and parcel of a balanced process of disarmament in Europe.

We hope that the agreement signed with the European Economic Community, promoted by France's readiness for cooperation, will encourage Hungary's relations with all EC member states, including Hungarian-French ties.

At the gala dinner given by the French prime minister, Mr Grosz concluded:

I hope our talks will make a creative contribution to the dynamic development of Hungarian-French relations, and set an example for confidential relations and reciprocal benefits of cooperation between countries of different social systems.

Dutch Communist Party Delegation Visits
AU0712124488 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 6 Dec 88 p 8

[Text] A delegation of the Netherlands Communist Party led by Deputy Chairman Marius Ernsting arrived in Hungary on 5 December at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee. Members of the delegation are Senator Fenna Bolding, member of the First Chamber of the Parliament, and Coen Teulings, member of the leadership of the Amsterdam party district.

CPSU's Yakovlev, Berecz Interviewed
AU1511105988 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
12 Nov 88 p 5

[Gejza Vilcek Budapest dispatch: "Assimilating What Is Useful"]

[Excerpts] Budapest (from our permanent correspondent)—"He who does not take into consideration the experiences of others is making a mistake. Assimilating

what is useful, that is the chief aim and purpose of my visit to Czechoslovakia," Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, replied to a question from our correspondent in Budapest on the eve of his visit to the CSSR.

"I have been to Prague four times and to Bratislava once. Needless to say, without my Czechoslovak partners I am unable to speak about the specific content of our talks. Generally it is possible to say, however, that the most important thing is to provide information on what is being done in the Soviet Union at present, what our plans for the near and more distant future are, and what we expect of reforms and restructuring. Hearing what is being done in Czechoslovakia is of equal importance. My visit is an exceptionally precious opportunity to exchange our findings and experiences," A.N. Yakovlev said. [passage omitted]

The foreign trade surplus of the Hungarian People's Republic vis-a-vis CEMA countries has prompted Hungary to limit its exports to these countries in order to equalize the trade balance. We have asked Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, whether this fact does not have a negative effect, whether it does not represent a departure from relations with CEMA countries. J. Berecz replied that "we would have liked to be in debt to socialist countries, but we have run into debts in capitalist countries. We have no spare capital that we could leave abroad. We expect understanding from and the development of production-sharing relations with our CEMA partners, we expect them to realize that every Hungarian export product of value contains one-quarter of input [paid for] in capitalist currencies. This is why we are slowing down exports. It does not constitute a departure from CEMA partners, but is simply in the interest of the Hungarian economy." [passage omitted]

Budapest Party Official Visits Warsaw
LD0712101188 Budapest MTI in English
0700 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, December 7 (MTI)—On Wednesday Mihaly Jasso, first secretary of the Budapest party committee, arrived on a two-day visit to Warsaw on the invitation of Janusz Kubasiewicz, first secretary of the Warsaw party committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The two party leaders are to hold far-reaching discussions on party work and issues of decisive importance for the economic, social and political life of the two capitals. The regular consultation forms an integral part of the system of Hungarian-Polish party and government relations which have for years been characterized by particular interest towards changes in each other's countries.

On the first day of the visit Mihaly Jasso will lay a wreath on the Nike statue, the symbol of Warsaw, and in the afternoon call on Jozef Czyrek, member of the Political

Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee. Then Mr Jasso is scheduled to meet party activists of Warsaw.

F. Berecz Queried on Relations With Romania
AU2411165488 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 21 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Industry Minister Frigyes Berecz by Gabor Miklos: "The Bucharest Incident Could Disturb Bilateral Economic Relations"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Miklos] Last week, you led the highest-ranking Hungarian Government delegation to visit Romania since the Arad summit. Moreover, this visit took place precisely at a time when, as a result of a provocation carried out against one of our diplomats there, new tension has emerged between the two countries. However, I would like you to describe your talks.

[Berecz] I must say that the political tension was not felt during the talks. During our constructive talks, we were able to advance one of the aims of the Arad meeting, namely to increase our turnover from the current 600-650 million rubles to 1 billion rubles within a few years. This turnover is expected to improve not only in value but also in composition.

[Miklos] What do you mean by this?

[Berecz] Of the CEMA countries, trade with Romania has always given the Hungarian economy the least problems because both sides took particular care to maintain a balance. The turnover of goods has been growing dynamically so far, but it seems that now we have succeeded in advancing in other areas, too. As is well known, we would like to solve the increasingly pressing problem of the supply of private cars. It has been now recorded in a protocol that the Romanian car model Olcit will appear in Hungary in 1989.

[Miklos] What impressions did you get from the Romanian enterprises you visited? There is considerable scepticism in Hungary about the Romanian industry, and there are many justified complaints about the Dacia cars and about the planned cooperation in assembling Romanian cars in Hungary.

[Berecz] We were taken to six enterprises in 2 days, and their level was quite different. For example, the Dacia Enterprises were established in 1968 and there has been no perceptible serious modernization since then. Among other things, this could be the reason for the many problems. Besides, contrary to our previous meetings, this time, the Romanians did not reject our complaints about the quality of their cars. They were ready to reduce the problems, all the more so because Hungary is today the largest foreign market for Dacia cars. I must also say

that we have seen high-level and modern enterprises, too. Among these, I would mention the Olcit Works in Craiova, which is a mixed French-Romanian enterprise.

[Miklos] Did your talks contain issues that directly affect the citizens?

[Berecz] We discussed all the existing problems. There is a considerable lack of proportion in these problems from an economic viewpoint, because there is a large Hungarian minority in Romania, while the Romanian minority in Hungary is relatively small. But we discussed the inheritance problems that exist on both sides of the border, as well as the issue of currency supply for tourists. We also talked about increasing the border-area traffic and asked again for permission to restore bus services between the two countries.

[Miklos] Did you make any step forward in this?

[Berecz] I do not expect a quick improvement, and in my view, these issues should be on the agenda of all our future talks.

[Miklos] During the talks, both you and your Romanian partner said that we should make our economic cooperation a bridge between the two nations. Is it possible that, in the end, this cooperation could be the factor that improves the current impossible situation and reduces the political tensions?

[Berecz] In my view, economic contacts and close cooperation fulfill this role everywhere. The Western European integration is a good example for this. In this area, for example, the traditional national and national minority tensions have decreased considerably because all aspects of the borders have become open. I am convinced that, in the socialist world, too, this is the only way to solve these problems.

[Miklos] Finally, tell us, please, whether the act of provocation against the Hungarian commercial counselor in Bucharest was raised during your talks?

[Berecz] Yes, it was inevitable. I pointed out both at the meeting of the delegation heads held prior to the mixed committee session and also to Prime Minister Dascalescu that we consider the accusations against Karoly Gyorffy absurd and we fear that the incident might upset the favorable development of our economic contacts.

Romania Warns of Chemical Pollution in River
*LD0712140588 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Chemical pollution has gotten into the Maros river from Romania. For this reason, a water quality protection alert has been ordered on the entire Hungarian stretch of the river, and also on the lower stretch of the Tisza River. The lifting of water from the rivers and the filling of fish ponds is being stopped. The Romanian authorities informed their Hungarian partners of the water pollution. The polluted water has not yet appeared in the Hungarian river stretches, for the moment.

Grosz Receives Egyptian Ambassador
*LD0712130488 Budapest MTI in English
1144 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] Budapest, December 7 (MTI)—Muhammad 'Ali al-Shuray'i, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Egypt to Hungary, has paid an introductory call on Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

'Permanent Representation' Opened in Seoul
*LD0712134288 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[Text] The Hungarian permanent representation has been opened in the South Korean capital. Sandor Etre, head of the representation, presented his credentials to Foreign Minister (Sin Tong-won) [name and title as heard]. Sandor Etre held a press conference in Seoul a few days ago, and he emphasized that from now on, Hungarian-South Korean economic, cultural, and sports relations can attain a qualitatively higher level.

CSSR Envoy Admonished for Customs Conduct
AU0612114188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
3-4 Dec 88 p 5

[PAP report: "Concerning the Situation at CSSR Border Crossings"]

[Text] Boguslaw Miernik, director general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, received Josef Havlin, CSSR ambassador to Poland.

The conversation was about the negative phenomena accompanying customs inspections of Polish tourists and workers employed in the CSSR while entering Poland from Czechoslovakia.

The director general pointed out that the fastidious and perfunctory controls by the Czechoslovak customs and the confiscation of even small quantities of foodstuffs and other articles taken out of Czechoslovakia is causing indignation among Polish travelers and making them feel discriminated against. While recognizing Czechoslovakia's right to restrict the outflow of articles in order to protect its domestic market, one cannot ignore the unintentional side-effects of this policy, such as delays in rail and road traffic caused by many hours of waiting at border crossings, which are arousing negative sentiments from Polish public opinion.

Other problems caused by the present situation at PPR - CSSR border crossings were also discussed.

Both interlocutors agreed that urgent, effective action should be undertaken in order to restore a normal situation when crossing the border.

Hungary's Government Spokesman Press Conference
LD0612224188 Warsaw PAP in English
2138 GMT 6 Dec 88

[By Waldemar Janiec and Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—Gyorgy Marosan, the press spokesman of the Hungarian Government, now on a visit to Poland, held a press conference in Warsaw today.

Replying to questions about the current socio-political and economic situation in his country, Marosan stated that Hungary was geared at shaping a new socio-economic model, the characteristic traits of which are to be efficiency and pluralism. As the key task he considered bringing about a mixed economy in which respective sectors of the economy would be guaranteed equal rights.

Speaking about the political situation, Marosan stated that Hungary is currently experiencing a transitional period, adding that the greater part of society is interested in this period ending soon. In this context the Hungarian spokesman stressed the high hopes which

Hungary pins on the upcoming session of parliament which is to pass on December 20 a new law on associations. Its provisions are to create new, more advantageous conditions for the organization of social life, including even setting up new political parties. As concerns the latter, Marosan noted that one should expect that the matter of a separate law on forming political parties would be addressed in one and a half year.

Marosan also presented a profile of Hungary's new premier Miklos Nemeth, whom he described as a bold reformer, knowing the goals which he wants to achieve. Replying to other questions on the role of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the future political life of the state, Marosan conceded that the Hungarian communists were taking account of the possibility of power-sharing, which—he stressed—could take place as a result of an objective historical process. At the same time, he expressed the conviction that the program of the Hungarian communists would win over the majority of Hungarian society.

Asked about Hungarian-Romanian relations, Marosan stated that they were complicated, at the same time stressing the steadfast will of his government to solve problems associated first and foremost with the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania, through concrete talks and in goodwill on both sides. Marosan in this context recalled the decision to expel a Romanian diplomat from Hungary, stressing that it was motivated by a wish to show that the Hungarian authorities do not intend to create the impression that they accept in silence similar steps taken by the Romanian side earlier.

As concerns Polish-Hungarian relations, Marosan acknowledged that there was a need to intensify them because this cooperation, proceeding positively on the governmental and ministerial palace, was not reflected in the development of human relations between the citizens of both states. He also pointed to the similarity of the problems which his country and Poland faced.

Replying to a number of questions on 1956 in Hungary, Marosan acknowledged that this issue still divided Hungarian society. He stated that a full explanation of the course, sources and outcome of 1956 in Hungary must become the domain of scholars.

Asked at the end for the motives of his arrival to Poland, Marosan, who has held the post of government spokesman for barely 4 months, conceded that his main objective was to get acquainted with the methods of Spokesman Jerzy Urban's work.

Polish, Soviet Historians Discuss Blank Spots
AU0612114588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
3-4 Dec 88 p 9

[PAP report: "Communique by Polish and Soviet Historians"]

[Text] Moscow—From 29 November to 1 December in Moscow, there was a third meeting of the commission of PPR and USSR scholars charged with investigating the

history of relations between the two countries. This commission was formed in compliance with the 21 April 1987 Polish - Soviet declaration on ideological, scientific, and cultural cooperation.

The two sides exchanged information about investigations and documentary research, and acquainted themselves with the results of the eight working meetings that have taken place since this commission's second meeting. The working meetings had dealt with concrete problems concerning Polish - Soviet relations in the period 1939-1945.

The commission examined a joint document entitled "The Period Before and the Start of World War II," which should be completed soon. It underlined the need for wider access to archives in performing the set tasks.

The commission completed its research on the subject "The Comintern and the Polish Communist Party." A work entitled "Lenin on Poland and the Polish Workers Movement," considerably enriched with new documents, will soon be published in the USSR and Poland. Reports on the displacement and deportation of the Polish population from western parts of Belorussia and the Ukraine to eastern parts of the USSR are being prepared for printing.

The commission acquainted itself with a Polish treatise, based on Western and Polish sources, about the fate of the Polish officers who were interred in the Soviet Union in 1939 and who died in Katyn, and agreed that this matter requires further painstaking examination.

The commission also examined the fate of Soviet prisoners of war on Polish soil during World War II and the help accorded to them by the Polish population. It discussed a two-volume joint work entitled "Internationalist Cooperation Between the CPSU and PZPR Yesterday and Today," a work entitled "Soviet - Polish Relations 1917-1921," and other works.

The commission meeting was attended by the following: On the Soviet side: G. Smirnov (chairman of the Soviet side), V. Zhuravlov, V. Volkov, V. Pasadanova, O. Rzhesheskiy, I. Yazhborovskaya, V. Daynies, Y. Skripilev, P. Kazhin, R. Yermolayeva, and V. Nevolin. On the Polish side: J. Maciszewski (chairman of the Polish side), W. T. Kowalski, E. Kozłowski, M. Kuczynski, M. Leczyk, C. Luczak, C. Madajczyk, R. Nazarewicz, B. Syzdek, T. Walichnowski, and M. Wojciechowski.

The next meeting of the commission will take place in Warsaw in May - June 1989.

Jaruzelski Greets LCY Leaders on National Day

Greetings to Suvar

AU0112144288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Nov 88 p 2

[Greetings of telegram from Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, to Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on the occasion of the SFRY's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Stipe Suvar, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in Belgrade.

Esteemed Comrade Suvar,

On the occasion of the SFRY's National Day, I extend friendly greetings and wishes for success in implementing the sociopolitical and economic reforms, which were set out by your party, to the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, to you personally, Comrade President, and to all the Communists and working people of Yugoslavia.

I would like to take this opportunity to express satisfaction at the successful way in which cooperation is developing between the PZPR and the LCY, and between the PPR and the SFRY. This functions well as a means of enabling us to become familiar with our experiences in the present stage of the construction of socialism in our countries, it consolidates them, and benefits both sides.

I am convinced that the traditional Polish - Yugoslav friendship and comprehensive cooperation will continue to develop and benefit our peoples and the cause of peace, progress, and socialism.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Greetings to Dizdarevic

AU0112144188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Nov 88 p 2

[Greetings telegram from Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, to Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, on the occasion of the SFRY's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, in Belgrade.

On the occasion of the SFRY's National Day and the 45th anniversary of the second session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, on behalf of the Polish people, the PPR State Council extends sincere greetings and good wishes to the SFRY Presidency and the friendly peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Polish society respects and admires the heroic history and present-day achievements of socialist Yugoslavia. We are keenly following the moves that you are making with a view to modernizing and achieving stability in the economy, and improving the system according to which your socialist state operates. We highly value Yugoslavia's contribution to the development of international cooperation.

I would like to take this opportunity to say that we firmly believe that the traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation between Poland and Yugoslavia will continue to be developed and strengthened to the benefit of both our states and the cause of socialism and peace.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the PPR State Council.

Jaruzelski Greets Albania's Alia on National Day
AU0112134488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Nov 88 p 2

[Greetings telegram from Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on the occasion of Albania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in Tirana.

On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I convey greetings and wishes for the successful development of socialist Albania to the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and to you personally.

I would like to say that it is our belief that Poland and Albania will expand cooperation in the interests of both states and peoples.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the PPR State Council.

Central Committee Politburo Meets 6 Dec
LD0712024088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2300 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Excerpts] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has discussed preparations for the Central Committee's 10th plenary meeting. The recommendation was made to introduce additions and amendments to the material being drawn up. The Politburo decided on the sequence of further work. The 10th plenum will take place on or about 20 December. [passage omitted]

Politburo members acquainted themselves with the course of the visits and the results of the talks by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski in Austria and the GDR. They heard a report on the Russian Federation Days in Poland.

Jankowski, Walesa at Political Rally 27 Nov
AU0112170488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28 Nov 88 p 10

[PAP report: "Meeting at St Brygida's Church"]

[Text] Father Henryk Jankowski spoke during the Sunday evening mass at St Brygida's Church in Gdanek on 27 November. As usual, he did not confine himself to religious topics. Socialism, he said, is a collection of putrid doctrines that are politically extinct today. He called for action to liberate Poland from its economic dependence on neighboring countries.

After the mass there was a typical political meeting [English word used] in front of the church, attended by about 2,000 people. Lech Walesa spoke to them. Answering one question, he said in the old style: "The times we are in call for a fight to the death," and "This system has no future." Asked about his meeting with Alfred Miodowicz, he accused the OPZZ chairman of trying to fake Polish reality and betraying workers interests, and he called the OPZZ conference a circus that represents no one. He also accused Miodowicz of wanting to distort the TV talk with the help of technical resources. Walesa claimed Miodowicz was lying and afraid of an open exchange of views. He also said that when the TV debate finally comes about, he will not talk about the role of Polish trade unions, but will merely present "Solidarity's" interests and promote its reregistration.

The rally was joined by Giovanni Spadolini, chairman of the Italian Senate, who is in Poland in order to attend the parliamentary conference in Warsaw. Despite being encouraged to speak, he did not do so. The following slogans were to be heard during this meeting: "Freedom for Poland," "Down with Communism," "Communists to the stake," and "Italy, help us regain our freedom."

Walesa's Remarks on Television Analyzed
AU0712112388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
2 Dec 88 p 2

[Ryszard Drecki: "If We Really Want Accord..."]

[Text] Great interest, a wide response, varied opinions. That is the briefest and most general way to describe society's reaction to the debate by Alfred Miodowicz and Lech Walesa which was transmitted by Polish Television on Wednesday evening.

That this debate took place at all is a momentous fact. It proved how far the processes of openness have advanced in Poland; it demonstrated the democratization of domestic relations in Poland. It would have been difficult to imagine this event or one like it years ago. The debate reveals the falsehood of claims that the reform processes in our lives are "at a standstill."

The attention of viewers was aroused by the two interlocutors, their stances and opinions, and what they had to say. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that people awaited Walesa's remarks in the Warsaw television studio with a feeling that approached tension.

One can say with appreciation or even satisfaction that Walesa's address provided several statements and ideas that possessed a conciliatory tone, leaning toward accord. This was by no means obvious beforehand. These statements and ideas permit one to say that generally, the "conversation between a steelworker and electrician," to borrow A. Miodowicz's phrase, revealed that the two interlocutors are vaguely in agreement with the fact that by means of discussion it is possible to tackle, examine, and solve all urgent Polish problems. By rejecting anarchy and destruction, and saying that work places should not be arenas of political struggle, Lech Walesa showed himself in a different mold than he has done at other times and other occasions.

One can even say that conciliation dominated Lech Walesa's televised remarks on Wednesday. One should also note that he spoke out in a similar tone the next day, at a press conference in Gdansk, where he said that "the country needs accord" and gave an assurance that "he would aim toward accord in Poland."

However, it is this very tone that leads us to address several questions to him, questions raised by a comparison between what he said on Wednesday with what he has said (or failed to say) on other occasions, and by a series of facts. Thus, Lech Walesa said that "Solidarity," whose legalization he calls for, would, from the point of view of programs and cadres, be different from the "Solidarity" of 7 or 8 years ago. Can one believe this if he has never performed a self-criticism of the old "Solidarity," at least not in public? Can one believe him if, even though he dissociated himself from anarchy and destruction in future, he said nothing about the acts of anarchy, destructive strikes, the occupation of offices, and similar destructive activity carried out by his movement in the past?

Walesa assured us that even from the point of view of cadres, the future "Solidarity" will not be the same. Does he mean the personnel composition of the leadership and its advisers? If so, why does he resolutely defend and even give pride of place to people like Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, who represent a stream of confrontation inside the "Solidarity" team of advisers? Can one believe in this "cadres renewal?"

Lech Walesa spoke with great zeal about the need for pluralism in Poland and its salutary role. No one questions pluralism in the Polish political system and its favorable features. However, I heard no suggestions about ways of preventing pluralism from leading to a repetition of anarchy.

Another question about a very uninteresting event, to put it mildly. We know that illegal "Solidarity" structures are enjoying official subsidies from the U.S. Congress and less official aid from other foreign institutions and organizations. Does Lech Walesa know of any case where an organization, movement, or union in any country enjoys financial support from foreign centers which profess alien interests that are hostile to that country?

On Wednesday, millions of Poles listened to Lech Walesa, who was rather conciliatory, calm, and leaning toward accord. However, not many people know, as I know, about the speech which he delivered following mass at St Brygida's Church in Gdansk last Sunday, a speech with a clear confrontational tone. Have his views suddenly changed in the course of 3 days? Does the Sunday tone belong to the past?

And one more matter. The whole of society is asking with increasing loudness why there are so many difficulties and so much delay with the "roundtable." The talks or "small table" discussions with experts, which Lech Walesa proposes as a continuation of the debate with Alfred Miodowicz, were agreed on earlier as part of the preparations for the "roundtable." Why is it that what was good enough for the TV debate is still not good enough for the "roundtable," and why is there no progress toward the talks, without which there can be no accord? How much longer will pre-conditions be demanded before the "roundtable" can take place?

Perhaps the list of questions like this can be extended, but that is beside the point. The important thing is that the credibility of these conciliatory tones and dialogue-inspiring accents that we heard from Lech Walesa's lips during the TV debate hinges upon an answer to these questions and the problems they contain.

Baka Discusses Economic Consolidation
LD0212023988 Warsaw PAP in English
0002 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—The essence of the plan for the consolidation of the national economy is the concentration of efforts and resources on the most important questions for society, said Political Bureau member and PUWP CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka during a conference with economic secretaries of the PUWP voivodship committees today. This is to be a fundamental document organizing economic activity in the two coming years and developing the line of conduct in the 1991-95 quinquennium.

The conference discussed the influence of PUWP committees and organizations on implementing the plan for consolidation and change in the economy. The debaters clearly dissociated themselves from the methods of direct interference in economic life, opting for ways of exerting political influence and acting by means of inspiration.

The conferees mentioned examples of ventures started on the initiative or enjoying the support of PUWP committees. One should implement the idea of establishing companies with the participation of local authorities.

One should support strivings to set up small plants in the countryside, which would give residents an alternative to maintaining unprofitable farms. It is also time to turn state enterprises into the employees' companies with the share of the state's treasury. The PUWP should also initiate the formulation of development programmes envisaged by the consolidation plan in factories, the debaters pointed out.

Government Committee Proposes Currency Law
AU011214488 Warsaw TYBUNA LUDU in Polish
29 Nov 88 p 1

[PAP report: "Council of Ministers Economic Committee Decisions"]

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that the Council of Ministers Economic Committee met on 28 November. The nature of the changes relating to foreign currency dealings in Poland was discussed.

It was decided that it will no longer be necessary to obtain permission to take amounts of foreign currency out of the country with a value not exceeding \$500. It was decided that the government-sponsored draft amendment to the foreign currency law will seek to bring about a basic liberalization of existing regulations. For example, there are proposals that private persons should be able to engage in foreign currency dealings and that it should become easier to own foreign currency.

The economic council assessed the state of progress in implementing the housing construction plan for this year. This prompted a discussion on proposed changes to legal regulations that would result in a significant increase in the number of apartments that become available for occupancy.

A decision was made on new principles governing the granting of loans for housing purposes. People who are waiting to be allocated housing in the socialized construction sector will be able to obtain loans to purchase apartments. Loans may be extended to cover housing that is to undergo capital repairs and modernization in order to meet current standards, regardless of the form of ownership that it comes under. The new principles envisage abandoning the application of a standard cost rule in granting loans for housing construction.

Jaruzelski, Other Leaders Visit Slupsk 23 Nov
LD2511103588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Correspondent Zenon Suszycki report from Slupsk]

[Excerpts] [Suszycki] members of the party Central Committee Secretariat led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, heads of Central Committee departments, and first secretaries

of voivodship committees have arrived in Slupsk on a 2-day working visit. [passage omitted] At 1630 a meeting began between the representatives of the top party authorities and the voivodship's aktiv.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Many good things are said about your work, about the achievements of the voivodship and of the city. We would like to popularize it. Television is here already, but there will be even more cameras tomorrow so that as much as possible can be said about Slupsk, and I am sure that these will only be good things. Thank you very much for welcoming me. See you tomorrow, then. [end recording]

[Suszycki] Not only activists of various parties, various political and public organizations, and workers have been invited to the meeting with PZPR Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, which is now in progress at the voivodship party committee building in Slupsk, but also young people and Slupsk school students. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Praises Slupsk Voivodship
LD2511110888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Correspondent Ryszard Ubicki report from Koszalin]

[Text] The day party leadership visit to the Slupsk region began with a working meeting of the voivodship's party and economic aktiv. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee who chaired the meeting, emphasized that it took the form of a frank and candid discussion that should reveal the structure for attaining results, which already are being achieved by the initiatives taken in this voivodship, which is famous for its creative and dynamic actions and initiatives.

It is very difficult to convey in a short report the atmosphere of this remarkable meeting. People spoke at it with pride, with concern, with hope, and, one could even say, with some exaggeration—were it not for the facts and specific examples that will be presented to the party leadership during its numerous visits and meetings throughout the voivodship tomorrow. The authenticity of these sincere declarations and statements, as well as his personal knowledge of the voivodship's realities were the factors reflected in General Wojciech Jaruzelski's summing-up at the end of the meeting. He said, among other things: Your voivodship is an apathy-free zone. It is not a zone without problems and concerns, but it is a zone of initiative, willingness to act, and involvement which deserve to be noticed and emphasized.

Tomorrow the laborious visit by party leadership to the Slupsk region continues, with numerous meetings, visits, and discussions during which members of the Politburo and the party Central Committee Secretariat will be referring back to problems pointed out during today's meeting.

Jaruzelski Chairs Conference

*LD2511122588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 24 Nov 88*

[Text] Members of the party leadership, the Politburo, and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, are in Slupsk Voivodship. This afternoon, Wojciech Jaruzelski chaired a conference at the party voivodship committee of members of the central party authorities and voivodship committee first secretaries from all over the country, and Central Committee departments heads.

There was a working exchange of the conclusions drawn from visits around the Slupsk Voivodship. As we reported already, Wojciech Jaruzelski visited the construction site of the voivodship hospital. He met employees of the agricultural building construction installation and assembly works enterprise, [words indistinct], and Slupsk building construction workers.

Jaruzelski Praises Example Set

*LD2511123088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 24 Nov 88*

[Text] Journalists who came to Slupsk from all around the country asked Wojciech Jaruzelski why the party authorities were so interested in the Slupsk Voivodship.

[Jaruzelski] Why does Slupsk Voivodship stand out in this respect? It stands out because we can speak about the universality of normal, and frequently even above-average solutions here. That means that the search for what can be done better and more effectively appears on a very wide scale here. It would be unfair to other regions in the country if we thus were to regard them as doing nothing, but their solutions are more fragmentary and not as dynamic, although undoubtedly there are many matters that are worthy of attention in other voivodships, too. Slupsk, however, truly has taken the lead. We can speak of success here. It turns out that in a sense this success is there for the taking, that certain tasks can be undertaken. What does one need to do this? One needs boldness and thought. These things complement each other perfectly here.

What is especially striking here? Construction. At one time after the war, people used to speak of Warsaw building speeds. The expression was known not just in Poland, but even abroad. I think that today we can speak of Slupsk building speeds. It would be good if we tried to match these speeds everywhere else.

We are satisfied with this visit. I think that much of Slupsk's experience can be transferred to the whole country.

Ceausescu Speaks on Plan, Detente in Interview
AU1711161188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
15 Nov 88 pp 1, 4

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview to the Kuwaiti Newspapers AL-SIYASAH and ARAB TIMES," given on 5 November in Bucharest]

[Text] As announced, on 5 November Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, received Mustafa Abu Libdeh, special correspondent of the Kuwaiti newspapers AL-SIYASAH and ARAB TIMES, and granted him the following interview:

Question: Romania has entered the second stage of the current 5-Year plan period. Esteemed Comrade President, we would be interested in your opinion on how the planned tasks are being implemented. Under the current international conditions, will Romania be able to keep up the pace of development announced at the beginning, will it eliminate its foreign debt, and will it be able to progress to a new stage of development—that of a medium-developed country?

Ceausescu: In the years of socialist construction, particularly since the Ninth RCP Congress, Romania has obtained outstanding results in its socioeconomic development, in the country's industrialization, based on the latest scientific and technological discoveries, and in achieving important progress in agriculture. At the same time, we have made great progress in science, education, and culture which are decisive factors in the socioeconomic progress of every country, especially in Romania's implementation of its program of socialist construction.

Likewise, I should mention that all this development was aimed at continuously improving the material and cultural level of our people which, as a matter of fact, is the supreme goal of the RCP policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are currently building in Romania. Anyone who visits our country can see these achievements for himself—the construction of dwellings, health care, and cultural establishments, and achievements in other areas.

It is true that more than half of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period has already elapsed. The strategic objectives set forward by the 13th RCP Congress for the 1986-90 period aim at the intensive development of industry and the other fields of activity and at achieving a new quality and a higher technological level of our products, based on the latest scientific and technical discoveries. Likewise, we foresee that during this period Romania should enter a new stage of development, that of a medium-developed socialist country.

There is no doubt that the world economic situation, the crisis and general policy of prices, and the excessively high interest rates have caused difficulties in the development of all states; to a certain extent, they have

affected our country as well, because Romania is not isolated but takes an active part in international relations and in the international exchange of material and cultural assets, regardless of the social system.

Nevertheless, I must note with satisfaction that we managed to ensure the continuous development of our national economy and of all sectors of activity with every passing year. It is true even though the development rate has been below the plan provisions, we have achieved one of the highest rates of development in Europe.

This provided the opportunity for our envisaged goals to be fulfilled in the current 5-year plan period and we have everything we need in order to report to the 14th RCP Congress, which is due next year, that Romania has entered a new development stage and, from the economic point of view, it will join the medium-developed countries. I mention this fact because from a social point of view, for a long time Romania has been ahead of the majority of developed capitalist countries—ever since we achieved a social system based on equality and justice, which exclude inequality and the oppression of man by man.

We have ensured the continuation of investments and fulfilled the program for construction of dwellings. Anyone can see this for himself in Bucharest and throughout our country. We have reached new important goals in Bucharest—the subway, the improvement of Dimbovita River which crosses our capital city, and other great urban work and construction of administrative-political and sociocultural establishments, alongside with the housing construction. During the current 5-year plan period we completed a new 30-km long section of the Danube-Black Sea Canal, and we have started work on a navigation project which will connect Bucharest with the Danube through a 70-km waterway, which, as a matter of fact, will be completed during the current 5-year plan. Likewise, we have continued extensive irrigation and land improvement operations in order to ensure a modern agriculture.

However, difficulties that have cropped up as a result of external factors cannot hinder the implementation of the program and targets for the general development of our homeland.

It is true that at the beginning of this decade we had a very big foreign debt. Considering the extremely high interest rate, we have virtually paid back almost three times the foreign debt we had. However, we still have to pay a part of this debt, and I hope that we will be able to meet the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress concerning paying off of our whole foreign debt in this 5-year plan period.

All in all, we can state that, generally speaking, we have fulfilled the targets set for this 5-year plan period, and we are creating proper conditions to ensure our country's future development and to continuously improve our

people's standard of living. As a matter of fact, this year we have started to increase the pay of all categories of working people and to increase pensions. So far, we have increased the lowest pay from 1,500 to 2,000 lei, and by next year we will increase all pay. Likewise, we also boast a good situation regarding the prices of consumer goods, which have not increased at all in the past years. General supplies to the population have also improved.

Hence, we look confidently toward the fulfillment of our provisions and to the future prospects of the next 5-year plan, up to the year 2000.

Question: Mister President, like many other people, we believe that under your wise leadership these targets will be fulfilled. We would like to mention that for many years you have promoted a concept, which is widely known today, about the issue of foreign debts, and you have made some concrete proposals for finding solutions to this problem. Within this framework, we would like to note that recently, during his address to the UN session, the emir of Kuwait spoke extensively about this subject and his proposals in this respect were greatly similar to the ideas you have been promoting for a long time.

Answer: Indeed, Romania took action with the aim of finding solutions to this problem and we can state that, as a matter of fact, today almost all countries and international forums admit that global solutions to the foreign debt problem should be sought. This proves that just solutions and right are eventually emerging ideas—even if with some difficulty—and are being imposed, because there is no other way!

Therefore, we are confident that solutions will be found for problems concerning disarmament, ensuring the independence and sovereignty of countries, and establishing better relations and democracy in the world!

Question: Mister President, we would like to know whether you think that there is a similarity between the current concern for renewal and the existing reforms in some socialist countries and the period that followed the Ninth RCP Congress—a congress that ensured the elimination of some obsolete administrative and organizational practices. Do you believe that the current campaign that is taking place in this respect in some CEMA member countries is justified?

Answer: The RCP, and hence Socialist Romania, started from the fact that socialism is built under different conditions in different countries. Indeed, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, we put an end not only to certain administrative practices, but also to some erroneous concepts in socialist construction, to clichés, and to the so-called compulsory models and other such practices which were incompatible with Romania's socioeconomic development.

We proceeded and continue to proceed from the fact that socialism and forms of organizing and managing the economy are not immutable, that they should be in accordance with and adaptable to the development of production forces and sciences, to the cultural level, and to social relations and national economic relations in general, and, to a certain extent, to international economic relations.

Therefore, in the period that followed the Ninth RCP Congress we adopted a number of measures to perfect the organization and management of our economy. We introduced the principles of self-management and self-administration; we created democratic bodies, such as the working people's councils; we institutionalized general meetings of owners, end-users, and producers, that is, of the working people in each unit, as bodies to manage the whole activity. Likewise, we set up national bodies, such as the Congress of the Working People in Industry and the Other Economic Branches, the Congress of Agriculture, the Congress of Science and Education, and the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture. The Congress of the People's Councils, which takes place once every 5 years elects national councils, as forums to manage the activity between congresses. This organization, which is closely linked to the state democratic bodies, ensures a broad framework for the active participation of the people's masses and of the whole nation in the management of our society and in drafting and implementing Romania's domestic and foreign policy.

In a number of enterprises we entrusted a part of the whole nation's property to working people's collectives for them to administer. We introduced the principle of profit sharing and 10 years ago we introduced the system of social participation, that is, participation by the working people with a certain sum of money in the enterprise's development fund. In this way, by contributing a certain sum of money, the working people become direct owners of the enterprise. Thus, at the present time the enterprise's funds, or capital as it is usually called, consists of the whole nation's property entrusted to the working people's collectives—which must make up at least 70 percent—and the property of each worker, who deposits a certain sum which entitles him to direct ownership. For this sum, each person receives a benefit in accordance with the sum deposited in addition to the pay he is entitled to in accordance with the fulfillment of the production plan.

We have created this system because we believe that it is in keeping with the conditions prevailing in Romania and with the commitment of working people, in their capacity both as collective owners and as individual owners—if one may say so—to the general development of our economy. At the same time we have continued to perfect all these measures. We have already made certain improvements to our system in the past 20 years.

We envisage that, by developing the forces of production, improving the general cultural level, expanding knowledge, and developing science we will be able to perfect our system of management and planning, in which the essential factor is the decisive role played by the working people and all people in the management of our society.

We have always proceeded from the fact that we are building socialism with the people and for the people and on the basis of the scientific thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people. We believe that workers' revolutionary democracy is the key factor for the participation of the whole nation in the management of our society and in successfully developing all areas!

Certainly, we believe that in this respect the work that is being done in various socialist countries to perfect the activity of socioeconomic management and the management of other sectors should meet the general requirements and specific requirements of each country and the specific conditions prevailing in each country.

We, and I want to repeat this, believe that developing and perfecting the forms of organization and planning are objective requirements but, as far as we are concerned, we have always ensured, and will continue to do so, that all these things should not in any way affect the basic principles of socialism. On the contrary, they should consolidate and develop socialist principles in accordance with the new political and economic conditions.

We believe that, not only for our countries or a certain number of countries but for the whole mankind, socialism is the only way to achieve a more just and better society, in which people can be really free to decide their own destinies, in accordance with their wishes!

Question: Romanian diplomacy is involved with the great changes in the Middle East, the most recent instance being Romania's contacts with the PLO and Israel, in the period that preceded Jordan's action of breaking relations with the West Bank and handing over the entire political responsibility to the West Bank. Would you please mention some of the Romanian efforts and concepts about what is said to be a basis for the Palestinian-Israeli talks? Do you believe that it is possible that the PLO will fill the political vacuum in the occupied territories, a vacuum that has been created through Jordan's action of breaking relations with the West Bank? What are the chances for starting bilateral Israeli-PLO talks, under the aegis of an international peace conference? What are your opinions about various proposed solutions for settling the situation in that region?

Answer: Romania has always spoken out for political solutions to the Middle East problems. We have started from the fact that the occupation of the Arab territories in the wake of the 1967 war should be ended and that the

rights of the Palestinian people should be ensured, including their right to self-determination and their right to establish an independent Palestinian state.

Throughout the years we have indeed acted in this spirit and we have contributed to certain steps in this direction. I would like to mention particularly the agreement between Egypt and Israel to which we have attached and continue to attach great importance because, apart from solving an important problem of Egypt, freeing the whole of the Sinai, it actually demonstrated that a political solution through negotiations is possible in the Middle East.

It goes without saying that the solution to peace between Egypt and Israel cannot be applied automatically to the problems still outstanding in the Middle East; however, a political solution through negotiations is the only possible way to achieve a just and lasting peace.

Under the current circumstances, this means the holding of an international conference with the participation of the relevant countries, including the PLO and, of course, Israel, as well as the permanent members of the Security Council. In our view, the holding of this UN-sponsored conference is, under the current circumstances, the only means that can ensure a just solution to the Middle East problems. We have advocated and continue to advocate such a conference and, within the limits of our possibilities, we have worked and continue to work in this direction.

The changes that have occurred and especially the unrest of the Palestinians in the occupied territories have increased the role of the PLO and, irrespective of the reservations of some political circles and forces in Israel, the PLO remains the only valid interlocutor to solve Palestinian problems.

Several variants may certainly be borne in mind. It is obvious that through cooperation between the PLO and Jordan, including a future federation or confederation—as was recently discussed by the Jordanian and Palestinian leaders with the participation of President Mubarak—it has been demonstrated that this is a very important and probable way. As a matter of fact, the PLO leadership has more than once stated that in order to participate in the international conference one may bear in mind various solutions, including the participation of a joint Arab delegation. However, apart from these efforts, the PLO must be present and must assume responsibility for solving the problem that is to be discussed and decided on. No one can and should decide on behalf of the Palestinians and the PLO.

In my opinion there are genuine possibilities—and I believe that next year the necessary conditions will be ensured—to organize negotiations within the framework of an international conference. However, I have to say frankly that such an international conference, per se, will not solve the problem. It constitutes just a framework

and, anyway, the Palestinians and the PLO must assume responsibility, and must conduct direct negotiations with Israel within this international conference. Maybe with the participation of others; however it is necessary for the PLO to be able to solve its problems directly. The conference offers a framework, it offers—and must offer—guarantees for the solutions adopted and for solving problems; however we are not the advocates of a conference that will make the decisions itself, instead of their being made by those concerned. This would be an imposed peace and, as any solution imposed by others, such a peace could not be viable.

Question: Mr President, Romania and you personally have always been appreciated for the particularly important role you have played in the development of Middle East events. The Arab peoples and leaders consider President Ceausescu as a source of wisdom and as a man who emanates some of the most realistic solutions for solving Middle East problems. A number of important events have taken place or are currently taking place—the elections to the Knesset in Israel, and the session of the Palestinian National Council. These events coincide with a new stage of the war in Lebanon and, at the same time, with positive prospects for a lasting peace in the Gulf area. In light of these considerations, what is your opinion on the possible development of the situation in this area?

Answer: The elections in Israel demonstrate that it is necessary to arrive at a political solution and I believe that the new Israeli Government will understand that it is in the interest of Israel to go to an international conference and accept a political solution.

As far as the decisions are concerned, that will be adopted by the Palestinian National Council in the direction of affirming the right to self-determination, I have told PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat that Romania will support any options that will be considered by the PLO as meeting the interests of the Palestinian people. These decisions must certainly take account of the need to create favorable preconditions for negotiations and for an international conference because only thus will they be in the interest of the Palestinian people.

We have always advocated a political solution to the war between Iran and Iraq and we welcome the cease-fire. We hope that all problems will be solved through negotiations and that a lasting peace and relations of cooperation will be achieved. This is in the interest of the two peoples, of all peoples in the Gulf, and in the interest of the whole of mankind in general.

As far as the situation in Lebanon is concerned, Romania has advocated and continues to advocate a strengthened unity of all Lebanese political forces and an independent and democratic Lebanon.

Question: Mr President, what is your opinion about the real level of detente achieved of late? Is the approach to the Palestinian problem part of this? Up to what limit can we count on the continuation of the atmosphere of international detente, which is termed—by some circles—as a beginning for redoing the maps of great international interests?

Answer: In our view, the international situation continues to be very complex and quite serious. True, certain steps have been taken toward detente—I am speaking primarily of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the intermediate-range nuclear missiles; however, this is a small step. Nuclear weapons continue to be a basic threat for the whole of mankind. Unfortunately, nuclear testing continues; new nuclear weapons are being produced and the modernization of those in place is being discussed. Therefore, it must be well understood that the treaty on medium-range nuclear missiles is only a step and that all states must take determined action to bring about a 50 percent reduction in the strategic nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States and to achieve a general agreement on halting nuclear tests, refraining from modernizing existing nuclear weapons, and from the so-called "Star Wars." A general agreement must be achieved—with the participation of all nuclear states and of all peoples, including those that do not possess nuclear weapons—to eliminate all nuclear weapons stage by stage. At the same time, it is necessary to work toward eliminating chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction—which are, however, closely linked to a general agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons—and toward achieving the necessary agreements for substantially reducing conventional weapons—beginning with 20 and up to 50 percent—and toward radically reducing military expenditures.

Certain steps have been taken toward a political solution to certain conflicts—I have referred to Iran and Iraq, negotiations are underway in other areas as well—but, at the same time, interference in domestic affairs and the support of various anti-governmental forces in various countries continue. I am referring primarily to Central America.

Thus, the steps toward detente—which are important—have not brought about a radical change in the international situation. Sustained and long-term efforts are necessary to really achieve a change and to move to a new trend and to a new policy in the international arena. What has been achieved demonstrates that such a change is feasible. If public opinion and all peoples will assume responsibility and will work with greater determination, a radical change and a new trend of cooperation and peace can be achieved, this being a factor of decisive importance for the development of all peoples, for national independence, for the elimination of underdevelopment, for a new international economic and political order, and for a better and more just world, a world

in which each people and each nation is able to freely choose its socioeconomic development path, without any outside interference!

In connection with the fact that it is said that we are going through a period of redoing the maps of great international interests, I believe that this concern is justified; however, the possibility of redividing the world has no prospects whatsoever. The world balance of forces has changed. Today peoples understand better and better that they represent a force in the international arena—I am talking about the small and medium-sized countries, the developing and nonaligned countries. The peoples' desire for independence and freedom makes and will actually make the redivision of the spheres of influence impossible. We must therefore work so that the policy of spheres of influence will die once and for all! This is in the interest of a truly new policy and a new thinking, and only on this basis can a lasting peace be insured throughout the world!

In conclusion, I would like to mention the positive relations between Romania and Kuwait and to express our desire to develop relations between our countries and with other countries in the Gulf area. I also want to convey best wishes for success, well-being, and peace to the readers of your newspaper and to the friendly Kuwaiti people!

Envoy Gives Figures on Rural 'Modernization'

AU2511134288 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
24 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Talking to the Ambassador of the SR of Romania"]

[Text] Prague—On 1 December 1988 the Romanian people will be celebrating the 70th anniversary of the establishment of a unified national Romanian state. Ioan Patsan, ambassador of the SR of Romania in the CSSR, spoke at a press conference in Prague yesterday [23 November] of the 70-year development of the unified Romanian state, and particularly of the results which Romania is achieving in socialist construction. Special programs have now been worked out, he said, which are aimed at implementing scientific progress in all spheres of activities. And the campaign oriented toward promoting the socioeconomic development of Romania's rural areas corresponds to this. On the basis of extensive interdepartmental studies, he went on to say, 543 selected local centers will be turned into agro-industrial centers; and the modernization program will also be carried out in 7,500 of a total of 13,123 villages, so as to improve the standard of their socio-cultural amenities. "Nobody is forcibly compelled to opt for another village," he declared, "personal choice is the rule. The modernization studies include all measures for preserving cultural, ethnic, historical, and religious monuments." The Romanian ambassador termed the Romanian-Czechoslovak contacts most fruitful, and expressed

the conviction that the development of Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation fully corresponds to the interests of both countries, and also benefits the consolidation of socialism and peace throughout the world. Speaking of current Romanian-Hungarian relations, Ioan Patsan stated in the course of the press conference that the top representatives of the SR of Romania and of the Hungarian People's Republic agreed at their Arad meeting this year that the responsibility for decisions adopted in each of these countries is exclusively borne by the agencies of the country in question. He stressed that the SR of Romania will continue to strive for good relations with its neighbors, including the Hungarian People's Republic.

NATO's Modernization Plans Criticized

AU2511194488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1835 GMT 25 Nov 88

["Solutions of 'Compensation' or Preparations for a New Stage of the Arms Race"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES. 25/11/1988—In a commentary on the idea of "updating" the nuclear and classical arsenals of the NATO, an idea insistently circulated especially after the conclusion of the accord on eliminating the nuclear missiles with medium and shorter range, "SCINTEIA" cautions that this action "is of a nature to bear serious implications, militarily and politically alike."

In the last analysis, the daily mentions, the projects of nuclear modernization flagrantly contradict the requirements of the new political thinking that starts from the recognition of the inadmissibility of a nuclear war and that rendered possible the INF accord. Such projects pertain to the old political thinking, to the discredited strategy according to which the foundation of security is not made by the elimination of the most devastating weapon mankind has ever known, by the achievement of a balance of arming at ever lower levels, but by the maintenance and improvement of the so-called factor of nuclear discouragement, which creates a very grave situation.

Moreover, concomitant with the action of nuclear modernization, the NATO quarters pursue also a whole range of more efficient conventional weapons. We mean the so-called intelligent weapons that aim at the target of their own accord, robotized or laser-controlled combat means, aircraft that can shun detection, etc., some of them only studied, other ones already built.

Behind the apparently innocent word "modernization" stands the real danger not only of annulling the rather immaterial reduction made under the INF accord, but also of generating a new and threatening spiral of the arms race, nuclear and conventional alike. The Daily wonders: If the marking of a certain progress toward disarmament is followed by measures of "compensation," then where is the disarmament? The peoples'

vital interests demand that the disarmament process, started with the INF accord, should not be allowed to be curbed through various projects of modernization, that the perspective of dispelling the nuclear danger, a perspective given by the initiation of that accord, should not be allowed to be blurred again. On the contrary, the peoples' interests, the supreme demands of peace, require that no effort be spared for the process to continue and become irreversible, through the achievement the soonest of the accord on a 50 per cent reduction of the strategic nuclear weapons, concomitant with the abolition of the chemical weapons and a substantive reduction of the classical ones. It is only such a program, comprehensive and realistic, for which socialist Romania has steadily declared and campaigned, that offers mankind peace prospects and the states and peoples, the broadest and most advanced socio-political forces are called upon to work in unity and focus the whole energy on this line.

Solidarity With Palestinians Marked

AU3011080888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1839 GMT 29 Nov 88

["Meeting on the International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/11/1988—A meeting took place in Bucharest, on November 29, on the International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People.

The participants included party and state activists, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] Central Committee,

the UCSAR [Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania], the National Women's Council, working people of Bucharest enterprises and institutions.

Diplomatic heads of mission of the Arab countries accredited to Romania were present.

Matei Ani, member of the Executive Bureau of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council, spoke about the significance of the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, showing that traditional relations of friendship and solidarity were established between the RCP and the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Palestine Liberation Organization, between the Romanian and Palestinian people. Highlighting Romania's position, the speaker stressed that the Romanian Government recognized the creation of the Palestinian State and welcomed the political declaration issued on the occasion.

Romania, he said, carries on intense activity in support of the Palestinian people's righteous cause, of the political settlement of the Middle East situation, for the transformation of that region into a zone of peace and peaceful coexistence. The speaker stressed the importance of the meetings and talks between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat in the development of the relations of close friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples.

Next to speak was Isma'il Ahmad Muhammad, deputy permanent representative of the PLO in Bucharest, who conveyed from the Palestine Liberation Organization warm thanks to and special appreciation of the RCP, of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support and solidarity shown to the Palestinian people's cause.

A Palestinian documentary film was shown at the close of the meeting.

Belgrade Shoe Factory Workers Protest Again

AU0712092988 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] After yesterday's protest by workers from the Belgrade shoe factory outside the SFRY Assembly building and demands for higher personal incomes, the workers today stopped work and organized a protest meeting at the Pinki Hall in Zemun. Here is a report from Milivoje Radenkovic in the Pinki Hall:

Belgrade shoe factory workers in Zemun and workers from the former Petar Velebit factory, who number more than 3,000, gathered again this morning, but this time in the Pinki Hall in Zemun.

The reason why they have met again was last night's decision by their workers council on personal incomes and the changes that were forced out by yesterday's meeting of workers in front of the SFRY Assembly building. According to this decision, only those workers with the lowest incomes will receive an increase of 100 percent. The workers seem to be most annoyed that this proposal envisages an increase of 20 percent even for the highest incomes.

The meeting is continuing and representatives of the city's sociopolitical organizations are expected to speak.

Agreement Reached

AU0712152588 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] The workers of the Belgrade shoe factory who protested yesterday in front of the Assembly against low pay and the difficult position of their work organization did not work again today.

Dissatisfied with the new pay proposal, which was formulated by their workers council last night, this morning they held a protest meeting in the Pinki Sports Hall in Zemun. While a special commission, set up by the workers, discussed a new pay offer, the workers were presenting their problems and the problems of their work organization until 1200.

The proposal of the workers commission on an increase in the base pay and a new method of calculating personal incomes was accepted, and the workers went home.

Court Rules Against Croatian Language Provision

LD0712153288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—Today the Yugoslav Constitutional Court determined that the provision of the construction of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on language is contrary to the SFRY Constitution, and it will inform the Yugoslav Assembly about this.

The provision of the Croatian Constitution which states that in Croatia "The Croatian literary language is in public use..." [Tanjug ellipses] means, according to the judgement of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, that the "Croatian literary language" must also be taken as the language of Serbs in Croatia and that the language of the Serbian nation in Croatia is not in public use in that republic.

Since the Yugoslav Constitution clearly establishes that the languages of nations are equal and that they are officially used on the entire territory of the SFRY, the Yugoslav Constitutional Court determined that the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia's provision on language is contrary to the SFRY Constitution.

Central Committee Session Scheduled for 12 Dec

LD0112214188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session today, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, chaired by Stipe Suvar, examined the preparations for the next, 19th, session of the LCY Central Committee and a number of topical political issues connected with realization of the immediate tasks of the Central Committee's 17th and 18th sessions.

The Presidium was reported to have decided to hold the next Central Committee session on 12 December this year and also endorsed the draft stands on ideopolitical questions concerning the economic reform and the tasks of the LC, which will at the same time be the main topic of the 19th LCY Central Committee session.

Deadlines Listed for Constitutional Coordination

LD0212044288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—It is the duty of the economy to coordinate the self-managing documents with the constitutional amendments by 31 December 1991, as established by the constitutional law on the realization of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution proclaimed on 25 November.

This law regulates the time when certain new constitutional solutions will "come on the scene." The majority of these have been undertaken since the proclamation.

Direct, secret elections from several candidates for the chambers (not all of them) of assemblies, from local communities to the federation, will be used beginning with the 1990 elections.

Beginning next May, the LCY will no longer be a representative in the SFRY Presidency. The SFRY assembly will acquire the right to propose relieving SFRY Presidency members.

From 15 May 1990, the mandates of the president and vice-president of the SFRY assembly, the presidents of its both chambers, as well as the president of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, will be 4 years. There can be no reelection of those who are presently holding these offices after this 4-year period. [passage omitted]

Jan-Jun 1988 LCY Revenue Increase Reported
AU0212180288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 88 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Profitability Exceeds the Plan"]

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Nov—The entire revenue of the LCY amounted to more than 78 billion dinars for the first 6 months of this year. This represents 96 percent of the entire revenue of the LCY for all of 1987. This data is contained in the report on the revenue and expenditure of the LCY in the first half of 1988 which was recently discussed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Party membership fees make up 70 billion dinars of this sum. This amount, earned in the first half of the year, represents 90 percent of the funds collected in this way for all of 1987.

In republican and provincial LC organizations in the first half of this year, party membership fees per member amounted on average to 4,500 dinars and was 20 percent greater than planned. Considered in this way, the membership fee was on average highest in Slovenia (11,681 dinars) and lowest in Macedonia (3,024 dinars).

In the LCY during the first half of this year, 95.9 percent of its membership regularly paid this membership fee. In this period, the LCY had 2,020,881 members, which is 33,331 fewer than in the same period last year.

In the first half of the year, membership fees were reduced in the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SR of Montenegro, and the SR of Croatia; and in the LC Basic Organizations of organs and organizations of the federation while a new accounting system has been adopted in the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army since the beginning of the year. Party membership fees were not reduced in the SR of Slovenia and the SR of Serbia in the first half of the year because this was done in December 1987.

Such an increase in funds from membership fees is explained by the increased personal incomes and other earnings of LC members, of which membership fees are a percentage and by the fact that the fees are being paid more regularly.

As far as spending on the implementation of the programs and tasks of the organizations, forums, and organs of the LCY in the first half year are concerned, 65.7 billion dinars were spent, which makes up 80 percent of earnings received in this period. The surplus revenue over expenditure amounts to 12.4 billion.

FEC Approves Draft Law on Joint Ventures
LD0212155188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—After the summing up of the debate on the working version of the draft law on joint ventures, the FEC today approved the draft of this act. According to a Federal Secretariat for Information statement, the new draft law has undergone significant changes, both in essence and in terms of the areas it covers, and it has been harmonized with the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution and the guidelines for the reform of the economic system.

On the basis of the principle "what is not proscribed by the law is permissible," foreign funds could be invested in almost all economic and social activities. Yugoslav citizens living abroad are placed in the same legal position as foreigners. Apart from this, enterprises involved in joint ventures have the same position, rights, and responsibilities in the unified Yugoslav market as other social enterprises.

This law deals only with those questions which arise in relations between domestic and foreign partners. Questions in connection with the form of ownership and organization are dealt with in the Law on Enterprises. On the basis of these provisions, all the vital provisions on contracts concerning investments are elaborated in this draft law, as a fundamental legal document.

The final version of the draft law on joint ventures has been sent to the Yugoslav Assembly.

Dizdarevic Converses With Editors in Belgrade
LD2811113788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2013 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—The adoption of the amendments in the assemblies of all the republics and provinces means that agreement exists in Yugoslavia on the ways out of the crisis. This is a body blow against elements which wanted to provoke a constitutional crisis in the country on this issue. With these changes we are about to break radically with the illusions that socialism is a society in which one works little but lives well, in which freedoms and rights do not signal duty and responsibility, and in which, in this community of ours, everyone can build one's own little national economy and that the bill for all the resultant damage is presented to the Federation. This, among other things, was stated by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, during his conversation with editors Djordje Vljajic of Radio Belgrade, Nenad Pejic of Sarajevo television, and Slavko Stanic of TANJUG.

Having thanked the editors for the holiday congratulations extended to him, Dizdarevic said:

Although we are all awaiting this Republic Day with a lot of worries and daily troubles, I think that we would not be fair, either toward ourselves or toward the efforts of the generations before us and now, if we do not realize that truly a great deal has been achieved in every respect along the path traversed by our republic. There is no corner of our country which has not been transformed. There is no area of our life in which we have failed to attain great progress. This is a firm foundation of our future progress. Let us not forget the great value of what has been achieved and let us not forget, amidst these big cares and troubles we have, that this provides the basis for the future. However, let us neither forget everything which was not good and which is backfiring on us.

But, of course, let us not forget that the new generations which were and are rising increasingly ask less about what used to be and more about what is happening now and about what will happen tomorrow, and quite rightly so.

Question: This year we are marking the 45th AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] anniversary. The practice has taken root that everybody in our country is citing the Jajce decisions, but everyone is interpreting them as suits them best. What is your view of this manifestation in our political life?

Answer: Permit me to go back to what is exercising our minds and to what will happen tomorrow. Of course, we are tackling the issue of how to extricate ourselves from the difficulties which have caused many worries, how to ensure faster progress, and how to provide an answer to the question posed by the new generation. This is an issue which does not only exercise the minds of those in the political leaderships, in state organs, etc. This is critically reflected on and this path is sought by an increasing number of the citizens of our country, and these are become general efforts. They are mounting this year, both as a refusal to accept the existing, as a criticism of everything which is not good and which hinders us, as a resolute demand that this should be eliminated without compromise, and also as a perception of the solutions leading out of the crisis. Now the question arises whether we have identified these solutions.

I would like to say that I think we have done so on two important issues: First, we adopted the constitutional amendments. Second, we resolutely switched over to economic reform and worked out its concept. Here are the pointers and the programs of the way out of the crisis. Of course, implementation is now the most immediate task for us all and if we are united in this respect then the future republic days will be more joyful for us.

Now, on the 45th anniversary of AVNOJ, it is being forgotten that this is a significant jubilee. The decisions adopted in Jajce 45 years ago have meant, and can only

mean what was laid down in them and on which Yugoslavia was founded: equality, federal order, a democratic system. In this respect, they cannot be understood or interpreted in any other way. If you look today at the documents adopted in Jajce, if you look, for instance, at the decision on the constituting of AVNOJ as the supreme legislative and executive people's representative body of Yugoslavia, you will see that it begins as follows:

"In line with the firm desire of the people of Yugoslavia to build from the people's accord and unity in the struggle against the occupiers a new Yugoslavia, founded on national brotherhood and equality, as the common homeland of all our peoples..."

Or, if you look at the basic attitude of the decision on the building of Yugoslavia on the federal principle which begins thus: "In order to achieve the principle of people's sovereignty, in order that Yugoslavia may represent the genuine homeland of its peoples and in order that she may never again become the sphere of activity by any hegemonist clique whatsoever, Yugoslavia is being built on the federal principle..." etc.

It is on these principles that new Yugoslavia was founded. By developing these principles, we have built relations of equality of all the nations and nationalities and the federal community and developed the system of self-managing socialist democracy. The differences emerging today should not be looked for in AVNOJ decisions. They should be looked for in the present causes of the crisis. These causes do not go as far back as AVNOJ, they are of more recent origin. I am not worried about the attempts to interpret AVNOJ decisions in different ways, for the simple reason that they have in the past 45 years received historical confirmation and have become so deeply rooted in the entire life of our country that they have been, are, and will surely be a lasting and firm foundation.

Question: We are celebrating yet another day—1 December. But, I think, too demurely. It is the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Yugoslavia. Again, are some old perceptions about the role of prewar Yugoslavia being revived?

Answer: The founding of a common state in which the people of our country have become united within a state framework is an event of great historical significance. The way in which this was done is not critical; there are many arguments about this way; what is essential is the historical value of creating Yugoslavia. It represented the realization of century-old aspirations of our peoples. They saw the unification as they way in which to survive, the way in which to resist the strangers together, the way in which to fight successfully for and defend independence, they saw it as the opportunity to fight for national affirmation, for equality, for social justice. A common state was set up. But all these aspirations of the peoples were not realized. Aspirations which meant hopes with

regard to national quality and social justice were the ones which represented the foremost betrayal. But others too were betrayed. However, conditions had been created to wage a common struggle in a state, on a single state territory, in common life, in new conditions of multiple linking-up, of drawing closer together, and of the permeation of common interests and aspirations, for national equality and social emancipation.

Many Yugoslav institutions emerged and played a progressive role. They became assessable and they had an impact on the consciousness of the peoples of all our nations and nationalities and on the values of all peoples. Consciousness about how much togetherness with other peoples was needed was growing stronger. Illusions about the very fact of unification bringing about the realization of the interests of all peoples were quickly lost, and, naturally, consciousness was growing too about the need to struggle against people being deprived of their social and national rights in this common state, due to the regime which existed in that state. The workers' movement united, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was founded. Conditions were created to defend the country and to rid it of the occupiers as well as to realize the betrayed goals of national emancipation and equality and of profound social transformation through the common struggle of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia in the liberation was and in the revolution.

Question: Since you have mentioned the revolution: If it had not been for 1918, what would have happened in 1941?

Answer: It is difficult to imagine in what sort of situation we would have found ourselves and what the destiny of our people would have been between the wars, how we would have dealt with 1941, and whether a national liberation struggle and revolution would have been possible had we in Yugoslavia not together created the conditions for its victorious course and outcome. And it is simply not possible to imagine the beginning and historical course of our struggle had it not been for Yugoslavia. Precisely because we were together in our own country, which was the homeland of our nations and nationalities, and not of a dynasty or a bourgeoisie, were we able to direct our energy toward the aims which we realized 45 years ago in Jajce, and to all that which we have created on these foundations up to today. Therefore, there are many reasons to mark and permanently continue to mark the importance of the creation of our common homeland of Yugoslavia, and in this respect there should be no reservations and neither should anything be unclear.

Question: Looking at the historical continuity of Yugoslavia and the current sociopolitical situation, it might be said, wittily, that future generations will condemn us if we preserve Yugoslavia as it is now, and there are such aspirations, and that future generations will also condemn us if we allow Yugoslavia to fall apart and we are facing aspirations such as this also?

Answer: I think that both these aspirations are in vain. We cannot preserve this situation as it is, nor can we remain where we are. Even if we wanted to, we could not. The whole of the development, the overall situation in the country and above all that which people are seeking, that which people need, that which they desire and are determined to involve themselves in, will not allow anyone to halt us where we are. That is one thing. If someone tries—and you can see that there are such phenomena, tendencies to create relations in Yugoslavia which threaten the future of a united Yugoslavia such as we have, that person will not succeed. It is sufficient for us to recall all the things that have been manifested as the mood of the people in this past year for it to be clear that this will not succeed.

Of course, in that which we have created lies the foundation upon which we can build the future. However, answers to the challenges of the present and the future cannot be looked for by turning to and concerning oneself with the past. This is not the past. And in no way is it the same as what has passed. We are in a world which is changing very fast. This Yugoslavia is on a completely different and new overall level of development. We are at a different level of consciousness. Our challenges are different ones. The needs of the country's development, of the system, and of more modern practice are different. So we cannot look for solutions, build a democratic practice, meet new challenges, and take steps for which all the conditions realistically exist, as well as all the needs, by returning to the views and behavior of yesterday. I am saying this because this does exist, people are doing this, as you have pointed out.

New phenomena and needs should be reacted to according to the dictates of today and tomorrow. And I think that more than anything else, when it is a question of how we are to proceed, it is necessary to encourage creative thought, practice and enterprise, to oppose dogmatic hostility toward that which is new, and to oppose liberal, empty words which change nothing, and, above all, to open up scope for those who are capable, educated, bolder, and honest; and to close any scope for routine behavior, average behavior, for playing safe, and for the psychology that it is important only to survive, because that is what could pull us backward if we tolerate it. These phenomena make up that force which wishes to preserve, which seeks that which is impossible.

Question: Constitutional amendments have been adopted. Considering the extent and the acrimony of the debate in which they were adopted one could say: All's well that ends well! What do you think? To what extent do the amendments in functioning serve as the way out of the existing crisis in Yugoslavia? Alternatively, what is the impact?

Answer: I think that these are three parts of one single whole. To begin with, there is the significance of the adoption of constitutional amendments itself. The adoption of the changes to the SFRY Constitution has been a

major step toward implementation of the conditions for the social and economic reform without which there is no way out of the crisis. I think that this is a great achievement. When I was present during the proclamation of the constitutional amendments in the Assembly, and when the picture came back to me of everything that we went through before we attained unity and before we attained what we have now written into the Constitution, what we are adopting and proclaiming, I had the impression that we lost our ability—in this unceasing wave of criticism—to rejoice and to appreciate what we have achieved. And these constitutional changes truly are a notable achievement.

With these amendments, we are not moving toward a more radical break with the illusions that socialism is a society in which one works little but lives well; in which freedoms and rights do not signify duty and responsibility; and in which, in this community of ours, everyone can build his own little national economy and that the bill for all the damage which it results in is presented to the federation, so that we all pay and we all trail behind. The changes in the constitution represent a turning toward the market and toward economic logic and, on this basis, stand for the consolidation of the independence and of organizations of associated labor and of decision-making on self-management principles. It represents the break with the unwieldy state legislation, with consensus economy and with the illusion that social property belongs to everybody and to no one. The constitutional changes provide another fresh and broader impulse to democratic processes in the system of social decisionmaking, but they will also drive us into more rational social organization and into a more rational manner of decisionmaking. Of course, in the section in which they ensure better functioning of the single Yugoslav market, the single Yugoslav development strategy etc., they provide a chance for us to come to an agreement sooner on joint interests and to be more consistent in the implementation of what we are agreeing on. So, this is one segment of the importance of this genuinely great achievement over the last year. The other is how we arrived at these constitutional amendments.

Question: Are you thinking of the debate itself?

Answer: The debate itself and of the public discussion. The value of what we have changed in the Constitution is precisely the fact that we have attained this in a very extensive and democratic discussion. The discussion has been and remains an essential contribution to the process of democratization of our society as a whole and it is one of the achievements in a democratic process of the development of society which cannot be nullified and which leave deep traces.

Question: Regardless of the fact that at times it grated on one's ears?

Answer: Despite the fact that at times it was very difficult and despite the fact that in specific instances constitutional amendments hung by a thread. The question whether we will or will not reach agreement also hung by a thread.

Of course, there is also the other side. During the public discussion, during this democratic debate—I would say all-embracing debate—we heard very many useful proposals and ideas which became part of the constitutional changes. Some of them will serve us in a very useful way in the implementation of constitutional amendments. We will have to check many useful ideas through future discussions and when working on further changes, on drafting the new constitution.

You asked about the impact. The views on the impact of these constitutional changes differ. Some underrate their significance and their impact, others do the opposite. Without a doubt, it is a big step along the road of getting out of the crisis. This is a body-blow against attempts seeking to provoke a constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia on this issue. This is a valuable experience. This too is a factor of unity because the adoption of the amendments in all the republics and provinces means that there is agreement in Yugoslavia along the roads leading to the way out of the crisis and on the fact that these changes and radical reforms are necessary and realistic. Of course, we must realize that the most urgent task now is to implement them. **Question:** You have spoken of democracy which is spreading. Will it be necessary to fight for it in the future, for instance, by creating a new constitution?

Answer: Not a single step forward in the process of democratization has come automatically or with its own impetus. Every such step has meant a spasm of struggle and of great efforts. If you look at the last 2 years, you will see that this process of society's democratization is slowly breaking ground and taking valuable steps forward. We often do not see this. Just review some of the events and achievements this year and you will see how this democratization process is inexorably marching forward.

Let us list just some of them. Take the critical demands of the working people and citizens which emerge and start by virtue of being justified and by the fact that they are the demands of all people. They are beginning to be realized. The public has become a significant factor in the democratic social climate. It is a more significant factor of this climate today than ever in postwar Yugoslavia. Social criticism as a whole has gained great momentum this year. Democratic relations are developing and slowly progressing between as well as inside sociopolitical organizations. There is greater insistence today, and rightly so, on accountability of organs and exponents of functions. We have said what the constitutional changes imply. Certain steps are being made in the process of nominating candidates, of elections; and the introduction of deeper democratic changes in the cadre

policy and in the process of cadre renewal, etc, is moving slowly forward. Often in this flood of criticism these processes are not noticed or insufficiently appreciated. They are also hidden by much of what accompanies these breakthroughs and this process, which is unacceptable; they are, in essence, often pushing efforts for the democratization of the climate and of society's relations onto the sidelines and off the right track.

Question: In assessing these achievements in the democratization process in our society as well as the the scope of the amendments, it could be said that if this is done within the span from what is necessary to what is possible, then no more could have been done. What are these phenomena which are in fact hindering these processes from moving more speedily forward?

Answer: Some things either explicitly hold back this process or, as I have said, divert it from the right track. There are cases of the bureaucratic monopoly by one section being replaced by the bureaucratic monopoly of another, which is not democracy but the struggle for power. Furthermore, there are attempts to isolate this democratization process within narrow frameworks of the bourgeois concept of democracy and of merely bourgeois freedoms, which should, of course, not be underestimated, because everything which is good should be incorporated in our democratic system and democratic practice. But we must provide space for the the full democratization of relations in all spheres of society, through genuine participation of citizens and through developing self-managing democracy.

Some people believe that it is enough when a citizen has the opportunity to express his mood at a certain time, at a meeting. This is both necessary and good but it does not mean much and it will only be a flash in the pan if we do not provide a system in which views, needs, and demands of citizens will always be heard and listened to. We must ensure that all forms of direct influence and participation in social life and the decision-making process, from the factory floor, to the workers' council, local community, municipal organs, assembly system, sociopolitical organizations, etc, exist not only formally but in reality as well.

Question: Not from meeting to meeting, but...

Answer: Not from meeting to meeting and not from election to election. There are instances of public criticism, to which all organs and all those to whom responsibility has been entrusted must submit themselves, being replaced by attacks on anyone who thinks differently. Or, and this is something which happens frequently, of being replaced by public labelling and condemnations without reasoned argument, and by instances of revanchism, which compromise the process of democracy, the sound steps which have been made. And, in fact, it opens up scope for political primitivism and, in some cases, for political strong-arm tactics by individuals or groups. Here, of course, is the question of how we must

insist on the principle of responsibility being applied consistently and to the end. Because responsibility is a vital condition for democracy and it must be attained in a democratic way. Whoever is guilty and responsible must be called to account and must bear the consequences. We must persevere in this and we must be uncompromising. But, to be uncompromising is not to be inhumane; responsibility is not persecution, we must do this in a way which advanced the democratic nature of the system and in a way which will strengthen the achievements of the humane characteristics of our socialism.

Question: Is there any careerism in all this?

Answer: You know, now some people are appearing, that is they are trying to join in, who for years have been sitting in the "shade", remaining silent, receiving good salaries for little work, who did not say what they should have said when they should have said it.

Question: And so they could not make any mistakes either?

Answer: They did not struggle for what they should have struggled for at the right time. And in this respect, they could not make any mistakes, and now they think that the moment has come when positions can be seized. We do not need these allies of the process of democratization and they will be rejected by that process in its own right.

Question: It could be said that all these are elements comprising a kind of picture of our misfortunes, difficulties, and the crises which we are facing. But, you recently addressed the citizens of Yugoslavia at a very serious moment. On the one hand, some reacted with acceptance and approval of what you said, while on the other, what you said was seen as a threat of extraordinary measures.

Answer: The broadest public accepted and supported the assessments, stances, and demands of the Presidency which I, on behalf of the Presidency, presented to the country's citizens. Criticisms came mainly from those to whom the warning of the Presidency applied.

The Presidency, on several occasions, insisted on the stance that a democratic way out of the crisis must be ensured, that this was the responsibility of all, that negative trends should be halted and behavior stopped which threatened this orientation and which led to that moment when the Presidency considered that it must address all citizens with its assessments, stances, and demands. It is duty-bound to warn, to undertake, and seek measures for the elimination of that which is paralyzing the system, threatening relations, provoking conflicts, confrontations, nationalist and separatist divisions, and which could, of course, make difficult conditions even more difficult, even extraordinary.

Question: If we are agreed that Kosovo is one of the greatest of Yugoslavia's problems, it could be said that the situation is again worsening. Are these extraordinary conditions?

Answer: I would like to say in connection with this preceding question, that we all decide on preventing the unfavorable development of the situation and of relations in the country, on finding a way out of the current situation, and on braking the worsening which you ask about, by the way in which we work, by the way in which we fulfill our duties. In this respect, as far as the Presidency is concerned, it will in the future continue to carry out its constitutional and legal responsibilities consistently.

It is true that we are facing a deterioration. You have mentioned some manifestations of the deterioration. It is caused by the irresponsible and damaging statements of individuals, which have again inflamed polemics, by public mutual accusations between leaderships, which, of course, poison intranational relations. But the most serious event is the demonstrations in Kosovo, which have seriously exacerbated a situation which was in any case very difficult, both in the province and in the country as a whole. And all this, of course, has drawn attention away from those agreed directions of common action which we established at the 17th session.

Question: Can causes be found? Who is responsible for them? Why have we not been able to solve the problem of Kosovo for so many years?

Answer: We have talked a great deal about it and there are many justified assessments and analyses of the causes responsible for the fact that a situation which threatens the stability of the country and threatens the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo been going on for so long. The recent events, the massive organized single-nation rallies and demonstrations by the Albanians truly have only harmful consequences and testify to the extent to which the situation in Kosovo is fraught with great dangers. However, the answer to the question you have asked is partly implicit in them because this event has demonstrated the extent of the shortcomings in the work of the leaderships and of the provincial organs and the extent to which the assistance which we all have to provide to them is insufficient and inadequate. These events are the last warning that quite specifically, with specific requirements and measures, and with each of us in the country displaying specific responsibility, we must cut short everything which maintains the situation that has been going on for years, a situation of pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins, and every instance of pressure used to force the people to emigrate. This is the last warning that every case of emigration must be prevented, instead of talking constantly about emigration, adopting some generic conclusions and measures and, after a specific number of people have emigrated, noting the number of those who have gone.

These events have shown that when considering the implementation of the stands which we have established and the policy for which we have opted, differentiation cannot be put off. The implementation of the accountability measures regarding both the individuals and the leaderships and, even more, the need for a broad and democratic cadre renewal in Kosovo, cannot be called into question. This is an urgent requirement for the simple reason that I am convinced that the bureaucratic practice of cadre appointments in the past has created part of the situation which is blocking us and which does not allow one to get out of this crisis situation.

The persistence of a situation of mistrust and disunity among the Serb and Kosovo leaderships, or of outside attempts to encourage mistrust and to fuel disunity within the SR of Serbia can no longer be tolerated. The lesson must be drawn fully from the recent demonstrations that the absence of political activity, especially among the Albanian population, creates scope for the irredentists and Albanian nationalists, it makes it possible for them to misinform and lead astray the people and create inaccurate beliefs among the Albanian masses. This has been shown in these events, too. I think that it is possible to create a single united front of struggle against the irredentists, against Albanian nationalists, against other kinds of nationalism engendered, provoked, and fueled by the situation, and embark on the road of overcoming national division, stabilization of the conditions, and the renewal of brotherhood and unity, peace, and security only through this broad political action of the members of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo and by involving all the organs and organizations not only from Kosovo but of all us in Yugoslavia.

[Text] **Question:** Back in 1980 or 1981 it was said that this was a matter of some kind of deeply strategically thought out and a tactically conducted Albanian nationalist movement which created a "gray," parallel system to the existing legal institutions. This has, however, disappeared from our political practice. This is why we are now facing the ferocity of this problem, particularly last week. What can the Presidency do and what is it doing within its powers to resolve matters more quickly and even reveal some political truths which could be easily obtained?

Answer: It is obvious from what I have just said that for a number of years we refused to see what was there. We closed our eyes and did not take any action to change the things with open eyes, clear stands, and quite specific actions.

What is the SFRY Presidency doing, and what can it, and what must it do now? The question of Kosovo, quite literally, is the topic with which the Presidency is constantly concerning itself, not only with discussions, but also with the measures which it is undertaking, the measures which it must undertake within the framework of what is its constitutional duty.

We insist, first, on the broadest possible united political action in which all the inhabitants of Kosovo will take part. This means the members of all the nations and nationalities living in Kosovo, with special responsibility and involvement by all political factors in the SR of Serbia and, of course, of all of us in Yugoslavia, all federal organs. Without the broad political action, I reiterate, we will not break the deadlock.

Second, the Presidency insists on all the institutions of the system of Kosovo being trained efficiently and responsibly to carry out their duties. As you know, a great number of people have been sent down there to work in the organs of the judiciary and in administrative organs. We have adopted decisions and have sent people to work in the state security organs and in public security organs. A combined militia detachment is there which helps protect public peace and order and especially the safety of the citizens of the Montenegrin and Serb nations and of members of other nationalities in Kosovo. The Presidency will continue to operate in this direction and will fulfill its function of strengthening the institutions of the system and the efficiency of its activity.

In the situations, which arise, such as this recent one, the Presidency must undertake, and has undertaken, special measures with which to prevent an outbreak of possible incidents, major disorders or disturbances, that is to say, prevent a serious destabilization of a situation which is already unstable.

Question: Even without Kosovo, we have "a Kosovo" in the relations between the republics and provinces, and the SFRY Presidency often finds itself in the role of arbiter. Instead of putting out such "fires", that is, instead of playing the role of "fireman", can the top state echelons act preventively, to prevent such conflicts of interests in relations between federal units?

Answer: One of the most important constitutional functions of the SFRY Presidency is to apply itself to the coordination of common interests in the federation in order to achieve equality of the nations and nationalities. This function is one of coordination and initiative and not of arbitration. There have been conflicts, and quite a lot of them. The conflicts and confrontations between the leaderships of individual republics and provinces are still in progress now and they weigh heavily on the situation in the country, weaken unity, and poison intranational relations. Because these things have taken place, the Presidency has had to intervene and it has intervened.

I must say that there have been cases of leaderships in some republics and provinces not having, in certain situations, enough understanding for the common Yugoslav interest, or for the fact that everything that happens in one part of the country exerts an influence on the situation in other parts and on the situation in the country as a whole. Of course, the Presidency does not

wait till somebody has a "little tiff" before intervening because the Presidency's activity as a whole is involvement in the joint negotiations and realization of what the interests and needs of the Yugoslav community and the equality of all of its parts demand at a given moment. We do this also at sessions of the Presidency with the participation of officials of the federation and presidents of the presidencies of the republics and provinces. This year we have had more talks with leaderships of the republics and provinces and separate talks with the most responsible exponents of functions in the leaderships of the republics and provinces, talks in which we intervened when disagreements arose and in which we demanded that everybody should carry out his responsibility toward what is common to us all and in which we have, naturally, exerted an influence to put an end to that which you are asking about.

Question: You said on 15 August that some individual actions were trifling with the people's national sentiments; yet these things seem to continue in the same way, they seem to escalate.

Answer: Were I to speak about it now, not only would I repeat what I said but I would use much sharper words because this is the truth. Unfortunately, this phenomenon has been going on since August.

Question: Could you say a bit more directly and more specifically which phenomena are threatening intranational relations?

Answer: This too has been mentioned, but let me repeat: Any kind of nationalism in all its manifestations—separatism manifested in some parts of the country, aspiration for national homogenization which, as you well know, is going on before the public, manifestations of national narrow-mindedness, replacing our duty to affirm and respect national feelings of members of all nations and nationalities by fanning nationalistic sentiments, which does not represent the struggle for national affirmation and respect of national rights, replacing the struggle against nationalism by creating ill-will toward individual nations and nationalities; insisting only on one's own narrow interest without any understanding for the same interests of others, and in particular for common interests, the realization of which represents both a need and a benefit of all. These are the quarrels and confrontations of which we spoke and they in fact poison intranational relations. It is an example of insensitivity and an uneven yardstick when one insists on one's own national feelings as well as regarding the extent to which national feelings of others are respected. [as received] These are the cases when the same nationalist phenomena or phenomena which cause nationalistic moods are either played down or justified by one section of the people while attacked or denounced by others.

I must state my deep conviction that all phenomena which disrupt intranational relations which we have touched upon here, would be easily overcome if they did

not originate or were not caused by the policy, attitude, individual actions, or behavior of some leaderships and people in leaderships. Yet the leaderships and those in leadership positions are the ones who bear responsibility for these phenomena and the responsibility to overcome them.

Question: You spoke earlier about various things which are happening. For example, everyone supports reform, but no one will allow his own interests to be affected, and so on. This is constantly being repeated but it is as though the comrades, above all those in the republican leaderships, are not being changed, or are being changed only slowly?

Answer: The latter is certainly true, that they are being changed slowly, that there are instances of persevering in unacceptable directions precisely in the sphere of relations within Yugoslavia, which do not allow us to embark on solving certain problems. I must say that these specific phenomena, actions, and stances are spoken about insufficiently openly, or even not at all. They are not addressed to those places where they are needed and where there must be changes, or where those who are doing these things must be replaced. There is a constant expectation that someone else should say this. It is thought, for example, that the SFRY Presidency is the one which should give its assessment on everything, express itself, and people live in the illusion that the Presidency has the powers to change people. I do not want to discuss whether or not it needs such powers.

Question: Now it does not have them?

Answer: Now it does not have them, but this question should not relieve of their responsibility those who do have these powers but do not implement them.

Question: From the new year, of course, a reform will begin in the economy which also has a political significance, particularly since it is only one of the three reforms which lie ahead. Among the people, however, a certain amount of fear is appearing regarding what will happen when reform gets underway, and yet, I would say that feelings are divided because of some sort of hope and expectation that reform must lead to a way out of the crisis. For which of these is there more basis—for fear or for hope?

Answer: I have already said that I consider one of the most important achievements of this year to have been our common resolve to move toward economic reform and this great undertaking should begin more seriously and more fundamentally with the new year. I think that this is the only way out of the crisis.

Question: We have tried reforms before. And they are not simple, not everyone is in the same position?

Answer: That is true but, you know, we have talked too much about political issues, about all these problems and misfortunes which exert pressure on us, and I really think that it is the final moment for us to concentrate all our forces and all social energy for the implementation of economic reform, to revive the economy, to get development moving, to create more goods and income. I am deeply convinced that literally everything will depend on this, both economic and social stability and, even, the overcoming of political problems, because I think we will overcome them more easily in a better economic situation.

Question: And there would be fewer of them?

Answer: And there would be fewer of them, because they are borne of difficult economic conditions; we would overcome more easily social tensions which are great, and we would more easily get out of a situation in which people who work well struggle for years to make ends meet. It is certain that not all will have equal fates in the reform because in a reform, those who are better, more diligent, and more enterprising will advance. Those who turn more easily to what the market wants, to catching up with contemporary technological development, those who do business in a modern way.

Question: Here you are thinking of freeing ourselves from the illusion that we do not need large investments and large factories, but small investments? [as received]

Answer: Well yes, I am thinking of that too. We long have been slaves to the idea that development is only large factories and now, for some years, we are standing still and we have no investment activities which might ensure development; and there is a chance of ensuring development. Because, reform means investments which bring the most and bring it the fastest. This is possible by the construction in greater quantity of small, modern enterprises which can be built more rapidly, in 1 year; whose construction does not demand great resources, because there are no great resources, whereas more humble resources can always be found—that is enterprises which react more quickly to the demands of the market, adapt more quickly, in which the process of decision-making is simple; where the period from the need for the decision to be made to the making of the decision and its implementation is a small one. Many countries have made a rapid advance with this orientation, and this is our chance. The construction of such enterprises is possible in the social, the collective, and the private sectors, if a clear orientation exists as to which form of production it most pays to develop by means of constructing small enterprises, with an economic policy which would help and encourage this. And, of course, with an organized social effort to do this, I am deeply convinced that we would very quickly arrive at the results which would lead us onto the path of development.

Question: It seems to me that we are freeing ourselves with great difficulty from one of the first-rate "sins" of socialism—that only grandiose economic projects lead to a brighter future. One of the key elements for the success of the economic reform is to what extent we can create, in keeping with the law, identical conditions for all businesses in the Yugoslav economy, which has not happened so far. How much is the Presidency concerned with this?

Answer: We are on the way out of the period in which business conditions were determined by extensive state regulations. We are moving toward a system which, above all, will be dictated by the market and by economic logic, as well as by economic laws. Consequently, the conditions will no longer be prescribed by the state, which shows a favorable or unfavorable attitude to certain branches of the economy from one moment to another. Instead, the organization of production will be based on what is demanded and accepted by the market.

We will experience problems with those who cannot reorient themselves in this direction. It is the duty of society to help them and it is the duty of everyone to tackle realistic social problems which already exist and will increase with the realization of the reform by means of specific social programs everywhere, in all places where people are living and working, not waiting for someone else to do it.

Question: Despite our internal problems to which we devoted most of our discussion Yugoslavia became the host of the ninth nonaligned summit. What is your view of this?

Answer: It has been said, and I will repeat: This is a great recognition, a great opportunity, and a great responsibility. Whatever we do in the country, we must bear in mind that we will be hosting the summit and chairing the Nonaligned Movement in the next 3 years. This means that we must secure stability in the country in order to perform this duty and, while doing so, be of as much benefit to the country as is realistically possible when it comes to the international status, the international reaffirmation, and the realization of Yugoslav interests in international life. Yugoslavia's obligations concerning preparations for the summit are very big. Of course, Yugoslavia will prepare it together with others. The summit will be held in changed international circumstances in which the processes are underway of detente, agreement-seeking, and the gradual defusing of hotbeds of crisis.

Processes are underway which promise the beginning of a period of more stable peace and increased cooperation in the world. As far as the policy of Yugoslavia is concerned, we must get down to a more serious analysis of everything we do, how we do it, and how we should be doing it. The same applies to the role of Yugoslavia and its involvement in the realization of all the principles and goals of the Nonaligned Movement, as this is of

benefit to the world and to each one of us. We must also analyze the specific contents and activities of Yugoslavia when it comes to its European policy and cooperation with countries and groupings in Europe, where it has large interests and where it has to be continually involved in realizing these interests. Yugoslavia must also determine which is the best direction its foreign policy should take in these changed and more favorable conditions, whether it is a question of the Mediterranean, the Balkans, our neighborly relations, or other issues. We should also pay much more attention to how we present ourselves to the world.

Question: And how does the world view us? What do you think?

Answer: The world sees us as we are. It sees what we have given to the world, what we have done well, it also sees our crisis and problems, and all that is not good in our internal relations.

Question: What do you mean by how we present ourselves to the world?

Answer: I had quite a few phenomena in mind—that we speak very badly of ourselves, as if there was some kind of competition in who will paint our situation in blacker colors.

Question: Are you thinking of the press or in general?

Answer: I am thinking mainly of statements. Speaking from experience, I must say that I do not know of any other country whose officials try so hard to present the situation in their country as bad, difficult, or hopeless and use such words about their country as "Albanization", "danger of civil war", etc.

In any case, you have mentioned the summit. There was a series of events in the past year such as the Balkan foreign ministers' meeting, numerous agreements between Yugoslavia and important factors in international relations, etc. All this shows that a stable Yugoslavia with such a foreign-political orientation is needed by the world, by the Nonaligned Movement, by Europe, by the Balkans, by the Mediterranean, because an unstable Yugoslavia would only cause problems, not just for itself, but also for others. This fact should be both seen and appreciated. There should be a much more responsible attitude to what we must do in the country and what we must ensure, when it comes to presenting oneself and one's situation, aspirations, and interests to the world.

At the end of this interview Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, said:

"I would like to take this opportunity to extend greetings on behalf of the SFRY Presidency to all the citizens of our country on the occasion of Republic Day, to wish

them what we talked about at the beginning—to make future republic days more joyful for everyone with future joint efforts of everyone in Yugoslavia.”

Slovenia's Stanovnik on Yugoslavia, Democracy
AU0212115188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
1 Dec 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: “Life and Not Ballots”]

[Text] Our joint homeland, the SFRY, is celebrating its 45th anniversary, Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, said in a statement he made to Ljubljana Television on the occasion of Republic Day. Janez Stanovnik said that the SFRY was born in the revolutionary liberation struggle, which was a kind of democratic plebiscite. During that struggle, people did not vote with ballots, but by risking their lives. In this struggle, which was a moment of truth, the Slovenes, together with other Yugoslav peoples, won their republic, their statehood, and sovereignty. At the same time we were building our new homeland, the new federal Yugoslavia, which is not only a unified homeland with unified geographic coordinates, and unified borders, but also the birthplace of our common ideals, the ideals of socialism, self-management, protection of human rights, democracy, and freedom in general, Stanovnik pointed out.

Stanovnik then stressed that democracy “is not just shouting in the streets and at meetings. Democracy is above all direct decisionmaking at general and direct elections by secret ballot. This is what we must strive for. At the same time, this means that democracy is not just deciding about representation, and on expressing confidence in the representatives, but also about control over those people who hold power.

Stanovnik stressed that we must overcome the crisis, which is economic, social, and political. We can overcome the crisis only if we continue the best traditions in our national life, and that means that we must above all rely on and believe in our own forces. That means that we must above all feel solidarity with one another, that is, be nationally unified if we want to achieve our national aims.

Commentary on ‘Snail's Pace’ of Changes in Reform
AU0112205588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
25 Nov 88 p 2

[Ivan Mrdjen commentary “Sixty Centimeters per Hour”]

[Text] Will that 17th LCY Central Committee session be held soon? This title was used by a BORBA satirist only 2 days after the marathon October meeting had concluded, the meeting which was glorified by a large part of the press as “historical crossroads,” a “turning point,” “the first step of the overall reform,” “the return of lost unity,” and so on.... As time goes by, it turns out that, as

usual, satire was more intuitive than the daily political grasp of things, probably because satire is best based on the gap between “results” and real achievements of any public job, particularly politics. During the past days, being pressed by demonstrations and meetings; by passionate one-sided speeches; by deepening divisions in the sphere of information; by Okun's [Arthur M. Okun, American economist] index of suffering (inflation rate plus unemployment rate); by the tempestuous departure of a pleiad of “sinless people” and the noisy arrival of a new group of also sinless people; by the fear of the option which may be proceeding from the theory “the worse it is, the better” along with the possible attempt to finally impose a state of emergency which may also bring some emergency measures; by the possibility of certain methods and practice spreading throughout the whole of the country as a “democratic wave;” as well as by the 24-hour generation of enemies for one-time use, both politicians and commentators have begun to realize that the “17th Session of the LCY Central Committee could not solve the current Yugoslav social, political, and economic crisis.”

As time goes by and events keep occurring, the “historic 17th session,” is seen as differing from other sessions only on two points that the public has immediately raised to the level of results: general swearing by the indispensability of three reforms and the outcome of the secret vote of confidence to members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Now when it is said that that vote does not have an “obligatory character,” what is left is only that which was already known and which probably did not necessitate all these streams of words and picturesque phrases, because, ever since the 12th party congress, neither society nor the party felt any shortage of these.

“The delegate political-party and political-executive section of our political system has been made in such a way that it also includes destructive elements, the purpose of which is not cooperation and search of a common optimum, but hampering any activity that could bring any good to anybody in the community, apart from the system itself,” Dr Bosko Gluscevic said in a recent interview to BORBA.

If the only common point of all mass gatherings, whatever way they may be organized or may sound is the demand for greater democracy, social justice, and a quicker way out of the crisis, and if all this is also invoked by those people in political-party and political-executive bodies who should elaborate and implement a policy that would strive toward these aims, one can really ask how can it happen that the moment a step is made beyond this clearly drawn line, there is destruction and a rift in political institutions, in the every-day activity of many social subjects, in the information system, and, the last but not the least, on the street.

It is obvious that the LC, as Dr Vladimir Goati said recently, can no longer “use the force of inertia to maintain the custom of using empty phrases whose only

legitimacy lies in an ideological patina instead of searching for practical solutions to problems, nor can it any longer respond to magical challenges of the new times only by chanting magical holy words."

Because of all this, the satirical question "Will the 17th Session of the LCY Central Committee be held soon?" seems to be appropriate here. If the main question asked at the October session was "WHAT are we to do?" the coming one should provide an answer to the question "HOW is one to implement all three reforms in practice?" and should one do so in a much clearer way and with a greater feeling of obligation. This is why Slobodan Milosevic was right when he said in his introductory speech at the first conference of the LC of Serbia that "political disposition in favor of changes must quickly be turned into changes themselves." For, delegate Mihailo Miskovic who spoke at the same meeting reckoned that our average monthly real personal income amounts to "as much as" \$100.

Having that figure, it is really very easy to find out the "speed of changes." It would be sufficient to turn these motivating 60 cents per hour into the snail's pace of 60 cm per hour. Observed from this angle, it is obvious that for a long time to come, we shall need additional incentives, primarily and exclusively of a political nature, in order to be able to transform "the alliance of the reform forces" of the 17th Session of the LCY Central Committee into the power of the "federal" reform in the everyday life.

Kosovo's Seljmani Warns of Concern in Province
LD0412122788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The recent massive rallies and protests of Albanian nationalists made the complex politico-security situation in Kosovo even more difficult. This, said Djumret Seljmani, member of the provincial committee Presidium in his introductory statement during the special session today of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, is reflected mainly in the further deterioration of intranational relations, greater mistrust, division, and further polarization on the nationality basis. There is, Seljmani warned, also a general concern by our working people and citizens for the further development of the situation because continued expression of dissatisfaction and reaction on the basis of national division could lead to very serious and unforeseeable consequences indeed for stability in the province and further afield.

Analyzes Albanian Unrest
LD0412135388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—In most cases the immediate reason for the rallies and protests of citizens of Albanian nationality was the decision to relieve Kacusa Jasari and Azem Vlasi of their duties in the

Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, Presidium member Djumret Seljmani said today in his introductory speech during the session of the provincial committee.

Stressing that recent events have brought to the surface many shortcomings in the LC's work and other subjective forces, especially the lack of political work at the grassroots level, Seljmani said that the atmosphere of concern and mistrust among Albanian nationals is to a large extent due to excessive politicization of the events in Kosovo. This atmosphere, said Seljmani, was particularly manifested on the issue of the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

Says Nationalists Exploited
LD0412131988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The assembled masses shouted slogans as an expression of support for the stands and policy of the LCY and the Central Committee, Tito's policy, equality, brotherhood and unity, as well as slogans supporting the LC Provincial Committee. The slogan "Tito-party" was dominant, was the assessment made by Djumret Seljmani in his introductory speech at the special session today of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee when he commented on the recent mass rallies of Albanians in this province.

The attempts by individuals to introduce unacceptable slogans, Seljmani believes, were reacted to and immediately resisted by the workers. However, when the social structure of the participants in the protest was changed, he added, unacceptable and hostile slogans were shouted by individuals and groups, but they were not accepted by the people in general. This suggests that Albanian nationalists tried to exploit these events for their dirty objectives, said Seljmani.

Notes Change in Demonstrations
LD0412132488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1158 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Pristina, 4 December (TANJUG)—Djumret Seljmani, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, made the assessment in his opening speech at today's extraordinary session of the Provincial Committee that the mass gatherings by citizens of Albanian nationality 17-21 November, in the first few days, when they comprised mainly workers, in essence expressed a socialist commitment and a Yugoslav orientation. Later, however, as the composition of the participants changed, as well as their movements and behavior, they occasionally assumed the form of demonstrations.

Gatherings on a national basis in our conditions here in Kosovo, not only do not represent a way of solving problems, but also carry great risk. But for this reason we must equip the organs and institutions of the system so that they are able to carry out their functions efficiently and qualitatively well.

Serbian LC Presidium on Economic Reform
*AU0212175788 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Dec 88*

[Text] The present crisis does not allow any further explanation of the problems but demands that they be most resolutely resolved, it was stated at the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia today. It was chaired by Slobodan Milosevic. The session discussed the draft positions and tasks in the implementation of the economic reform as part of the activities preparing the 19th Session of the LCY Central Committee.

It was said at the session that it was necessary to explain the ideopolitical questions of the economic functions of the federation which must be able to conduct an efficient and comprehensive economic and development policy, above all to permit an unhindered functioning of a unified Yugoslav market. An integral market of goods and services, of social capital, of labor, and knowledge will not be able to properly come to life.

It was stressed that one must work politically to speed up the changes in the system of stimulating the development of the underdeveloped republics and the province of Kosovo in the sense of precisely defining the criteria for development and the incentive machinery for implementing their accelerated development and their more successful linking with the developed part of the economy in accordance with the reform demands.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia believes that one can no longer postpone a reform of social activities. The relations between economic and social activities must be changed in the direction of a further strengthening of the basic functions of these activities and their greater contribution to the implementation of the reform.

The LCY Central Committee must intensify political responsibility for the efficiency of economic policy next year and for consistency as regards reform guidelines. In this way, one should ensure an increase of production and exports and a reduction of inflation. Specific measures must be taken to call people to account for their slow reaction to obvious omissions and errors in the conduct of economic policy, especially as regards the interest rate policy which had far-reaching material, political, and social consequences.

For the purpose of a successful implementation of economic reform, it is necessary that the process of reducing statism and bureaucracy should be accelerated. This was a demand stressed by Communists at the LCY Conference and the recently held conference of the LC of Serbia.

The session particularly stressed the need to intensify the accountability of Communists in all the communities for a consistent and comprehensive implementation of the reform. The present time and crisis do not allow any further explanations of the problems, but demand that they be most resolutely resolved.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia made specific proposals and suggestions for the draft text of the positions and tasks that will be adopted at the 19th session of the LCY Central Committee, the statement says in conclusion.

Bosnian Municipal Assembly Candidates' List
*LD0212161488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 2 Dec 88*

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—A proposal of 17 candidates for three vacated posts in the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been returned from the session of the Centar municipal assembly to its proposer—the Republican Conference of the Bosnia-Herzegovina SAWP. In the opinion of the delegates of this municipality, the proposal did not respect the criteria—candidates also include those who move from post to post, some are reaching retirement, and there are even those whose names are linked with the Neum and Agrokomerc affairs.

For this reason it has been proposed to the Republican Conference to produce a new list which will be in line with society's orientation for cadre renewal. [passage omitted]

Loncar Answers Journalists Questions 2 Dec
*LD0212234688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2209 GMT 2 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, was the guest today at a dinner in the International Press Center hosted in his honour by foreign correspondents accredited in Yugoslavia.

The federal secretary replied to several questions put to him by foreign correspondents relative to the latest international developments and especially to Yugoslavia's role in the world. The journalists were particularly interested in preparations for the Ninth Nonaligned Summit to be hosted by Yugoslavia. Reference was also made to events concerning the anti-Yugoslav demonstrations and the closure of the consulate-general in Sydney. The federal secretary also replied to questions on the current situation in Yugoslavia.

New Missile Test; Development Process Criticized
AU0112120788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
25 Nov 88 p 9

[V. Ilic report: "Testing in 8 Seconds"]

[Excerpt] In order to test an aircraft missile system, two aircraft mechanics need an average of 40 minutes. It is perhaps more appropriate to say "used to need" because all the necessary operations can now be done, with the new testing device, by one mechanic in 8 seconds. This, in fact, means that the testing of an entire squadron's missile systems will last 3 hours less than usual, which is of immeasurable value for combat readiness. All of this is the "consequence" of an invention shown at the recent exhibition of military inventions in Sarajevo.

The author of this device, Sergeant Major Ivo Lujo from the Batajnica Aeronautical Testing Center, speaks modestly about his work. He shows us the device which could be put in a pupil's pencil box and explains it to us.

Home Produced Interval-Meter

This is a device for testing wiring [instalacija] in aircraft missile systems and is about 30 times smaller and considerably lighter than the one presently in use. The new device, let us call it an interval-meter, has been reconstructed in such a way that all electro-mechanical components were replaced by electronic parts. All the parts are home produced, and I have been able to "assemble" them thanks to my long years of experience in this field of work, Ivo Lujo said. The device saves time in two respects, during the testing of the systems and in preparations for testing, because everything functions more simply and faster. The power sources used before were 220 volts and a storage battery [akumulator], while the new interval-meter has its own very cheap source of power: four 1.5-volt batteries.

Thanks to electronics, the device has a memory which "stores" all the data which is then read by aircraft mechanics. All these operations, including the above mentioned 8 seconds, last just over 1 minute. Sergeant Major Ivo Lujo has spent considerably more time inventing and constructing this device, working, as he said, not only during his normal working hours in the Center, but also in the afternoons and spending his own money in Zemun and Belgrade electronic equipment shops on necessary parts. He did not lack help from his colleagues either.

Unfortunately, this invention shares the fate of all things that our armed forces invent, in that it must go through the existing slow and too complex organizational procedures. Therefore, it is uncertain when this invention will be officially recognized and used. We hope, however, that because of its quality it will get through administrative difficulties quickly because, one must admit, it deserves this based on its importance. [passage omitted]

Austrian Daily Interviews Dissident Djilas
AU2811124388 Vienna PROFIL in German
28 Nov 88 pp 64-66

[Interview with Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas by Michael Siegert: "The Time of the State Party Is Over"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

PROFIL: Yugoslavia has always been afraid of Russian intervention through Bulgaria. The Soviets might support Bulgaria's claims on Macedonia.

Djilas: Today this fear no longer exists. When Brezhnev was alive there was always a possibility of this happening, but since today this danger from the Soviet Union has practically disappeared, this has contributed to initiating the process of differentiation in Yugoslavia.

PROFIL: If the differences in Yugoslavia continue to escalate, could this not tempt the Serbian leadership to form an alliance with the Soviets?

Djilas: No. There will probably always be a certain group that tries such collaboration. However, the Serbs are a people with an independent spirit. Any leadership that tries to make the country dependent as a satellite would be overthrown.

PROFIL: There are differing opinions about the Albanians in Kosovo. Many Serbs say that the Albanians oppress the Serbs in Kosovo. On the other hand, opposition members with sympathetic feelings for the Albanians claim that these Albanians are being oppressed in Kosovo. It is said that 5,000 Albanians are political prisoners.

Djilas: I think that this figure is too high. Many are sentenced by the police to a couple of weeks in prison—this number could be several thousand. However, the number of those who are sentenced to some years in prison is several hundred to a thousand, in my estimate. This does not mean that the Albanians are subjected to national oppression, this is only the persecution of the organizers of illegal separatism.

PROFIL: The complaints of the Albanians are thus unjustified?

Djilas: It is nonsense to speak of a national persecution of the Albanians in Kosovo, because they are the ones that have the power there within the framework of autonomy. Police are Albanians, the courts—everything is Albanian. Because this apparatus is infiltrated by nationalist ideologues, it cannot effectively combat the Albanian separatists, the Albanian Stalinists, who attack the Serbs in Kosovo. How do they do this? They rape women, cut down fruit trees, and kill the animals of the Serbs.

PROFIL: For us, it sounds somewhat strange when we are told that the Albanians rape old Serbian women.

Djilas: You must believe it, because it is true! Albanian tradition does not know the rape of women, but in the wake of the process of industrialization they are losing this patriarchal tradition; the old culture is disintegrating. The tendency toward violence is growing. They attack a few old women and small girls as a demonstration against the Serbs. This has symbolic significance and is aimed at escalating the conflict between Serbs and Albanians.

PROFIL: One hears that 30,000 Serbs have emigrated from Kosovo over the past 6 years and that now only about 200,000 Serbs live among 2 million Albanians.

Djilas: That is right. The Serbs emigrate primarily because of the pressure exerted by the Albanians. They do not have a future, because nobody defends them. Serbia has too little authority in this province that belongs to its republic.

PROFIL: Serbia's party chief Slobodan Milosevic has accepted the challenge and is now struggling for his tribesmen [Stammesbrueder].

Djilas: He is right in everything that pertains to the defense of his own people. He is right when he insists on unification with the northern province of Vojvodina, where the majority are Serbs. Furthermore, he is right when he protects his people against persecution in Kosovo. However, the Serbian regime is contradictory. The power structure and the control over the media is authoritarian. The party is still working according to Leninist principles, but the intellectual life in Serbia, the discussions of the sociologists, philosophers, and literature are more lively than ever. The regime is no longer quite so doctrinaire, because it needs support in the national conflict. The economic concept of Milosevic's leadership in Serbia is liberal but unrealistic.

PROFIL: Why should the reform not work out?

Djilas: It continues to insist on the dominating role of socialist ownership. However, this is the source of authoritarian power. I hope that the latest reform will at least weaken political control over the economy.

PROFIL: What would you suggest?

Djilas: All forms of ownership—socialist, cooperative, private and foreign—should have the same opportunities in practice, not only on paper. In reality the way to a pluralistic economy only comes via political pluralism. The current reforms have initiated the process of breaking down the system. The crisis is positive from the political point of view; it leads to a process of liberalization and democratization.

PROFIL: However, you yourself say that nationalism also has authoritarian characteristics. Where is liberalization?

Djilas: Today we do not have a state party in Yugoslavia any more. Now the protracted process of freeing the state from the dominance of the party begins. The time of the state party is over; the multi-party state is not yet here. In the republics we already have six different communist parties.

PROFIL: The seventh would be the Albanian party in Kosovo.

Djilas: The importance of the present demonstrations in Kosovo lies in the fact that the Kosovo leadership is separating itself from the Serbian party leadership, as has already happened in the republics. I think that a compromise between the Albanian and the Serbian party can be found. There is no other way. Any Albanian separatism will be immediately suppressed by police and party, if the Stalinist elements there make any corresponding attempts.

PROFIL: If Serbia streamlines its provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo and closely unites with Montenegro and Macedonia, then will Serbia's weight in Yugoslavia not become too great? Toward the end of his life, Tito deliberately broke up and cut back Serbia—with his constitutional reform in 1974—so that it cannot again rule over Yugoslavia like the Kingdom of South Slavs did during the interwar period.

Djilas: Yes, the Communists have pursued a policy against Serbia so that it cannot become powerful. Already before the war, we were in favor of autonomy. Then we centralized the country by means of the Communist Party. For this reason, Yugoslavia was more homogeneous—despite the autonomous republics—than the royal Yugoslavia of the interwar period. Now the situation is different again, because there are different communist parties. I ask you: To whom should closer cooperation between Montenegro, Serbia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo pose any threat?

PROFIL: There is an old difference between Serbs and Croats, which claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Serbs during World War II.

Djilas: Today a Serbian hegemony is not possible. Of course, there are such efforts in Serbia, but they could not be implemented without a civil war. There might be minor corrections to the Constitution, but not even today's Serbian leadership calls for the liquidation of Kosovo's autonomy. They only want authority over the Kosovo courts and police, so as to check on the development there. Of course, this is also a problem of democratization, without which the Kosovo problem cannot be solved.

PROFIL: Mr Djilas, Gorbachev's reforms have also caused nationality conflicts in the Soviet Union. Do you see any parallels to Yugoslavia?

Djilas: There are common characteristics, but there is also one big difference: We do not have such a strong dominating position as the Soviet Union has in the form of the Russians.

PROFIL: Does Gorbachev mean to you the first step toward the end of Communism? After all, he calls for privatization and political pluralism. Is this not the admission of the Communists, that they have failed and that they want to return to the ideals of the French Revolution, to Western democracy?

Djilas: Communism does not change, it disintegrates. It can be compared with the downfall of feudalism under absolutism. Perhaps it will not take as long. [passage omitted]

PROFIL: Gorbachev is still looking for the fulcrum to unhinge the Asian inertia of the system. Until now, he has not found it. Do you see any danger of relapsing into the old state of affairs?

Djilas: I think that he will be able to keep the upper hand against the Stalinists. They are simply outdated and old-fashioned. Their ideology has dissolved, their economic model is not efficient. However, Gorbachev will not introduce a pluralistic democracy. Compared with Western standards he is a very moderate reformer, an enlightened, absolute ruler—nothing more. Now he is trying to strengthen his power; he is issuing new laws that have, however, only little effect. [passage omitted]

Of course he knows that the party is corrupt, inefficient, and weak in decisionmaking. He had to reach a compromise with the bureaucrats and is now trying to strengthen the state apparatus in addition to the party. The state and, with it, the laws are to be given more power. His greatest success has been glasnost. People who think differently are no longer imprisoned, various groups are permitted to act publicly and to publish their views.

PROFIL: Even though Gorbachev has permitted a certain pluralism with regard to associations, he does not want to permit other parties.

Djilas: Regardless of what he wants, this process is continuing—in the same way as here in Yugoslavia.

Prospects for Gorbachev Visit to U.S. Assessed
LD0612165888 Zagreb Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will arrive in New York tomorrow, where he is scheduled to give a speech at the UN General Assembly and then meet Reagan and President-Elect George Bush. Here is a commentary by Milika Sundic:

[Sundic] Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to New York, where he is scheduled to give a speech at the UN General

Assembly, meet President Reagan for the fifth time in the last 3 and ½ years and meet President-Elect George Bush, should signify the introduction of new important contacts between the Kremlin and a new American administration, thereby confirming everything achieved up to the present in relations between the two superpowers, especially in the field of disarmament.

According to Soviet sources, Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly will include Moscow's views on all the most important issues of the contemporary world, starting with the problems of disarmament, human rights, and regional problems. The problems that he will address in his speech will also be topics of talks with Reagan and Bush. From Bush especially, the Soviet leader expects new developments to further improve relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, not only in the sphere of disarmament and in solving regional conflicts, but in the sphere of expanding economic cooperation.

Like Moscow, Washington believes that Soviet-American relations are constantly improving and that they will most likely be expanded even more in the next 4 years. Among other things, one can count on the fact that a new agreement on missiles will be signed in the foreseeable future, this time on a 50 percent reduction of strategical nuclear missiles. These negotiations have made a great deal of progress, and it is now expected with certainty that they will conclude successfully.

Gorbachev will also talk with Reagan and Bush about the Afghan problem, as well as the Cambodia problem. Americans will certainly be interested in the development of Sino-Soviet relations at a time when the two countries have agreed in principle on a Mikhail Gorbachev visit to China to meet Deng Xiaoping. The present visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to New York, that is, his talks with Reagan and Bush, will also provide the occasion for marking the anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles from Europe, which is already being implemented on both sides without any misunderstandings.

True, Moscow expected that the fifth meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev could be an occasion for signing a new agreement on missiles, but this will obviously fall to Bush and Gorbachev when the negotiations in Geneva on reducing strategic nuclear missiles are finished.

An important characteristic of the present phase of Soviet-American relations is that positive movement in the relations between the two superpowers are transferred to relations between the two military blocs.

Let us recall that defense ministers of the NATO member countries have determined that internal developments in the Soviet Union, restructuring and glasnost,

are a reliable indication of new agreements between the East and the West, and when everything is taken into account, are a good guarantee that the relations between the two superpowers and the two blocs will continue to develop in a positive direction. The forthcoming Gorbachev meeting with Reagan and Bush best confirms this.

Foreign Secretary Comments on Sydney Incident
*AU0212203688 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Dec 88*

[Text] In connection with the events in Sydney and Australia itself, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, made a special statement to Belgrade Television today.

[Begin recording] This act [by the Australian Government] is unilateral, unfavorable, and harmful to our relations. As is known, it followed a ultimatum by the Australian Government that we should hand over Zoran Matijas, our security officer, after the well-known incident, so that they may interrogate him, bring him to court, and possibly punish him.

Considering that the entire event occurred on our territory, considering that he acted in defense and did not attack, and considering that according to our deep conviction that he did not commit any act that would violate international contractual relations, in this case the Vienna Convention, we rejected this demand. You know specifically that Yugoslavia has never succumbed to any ultimatum and will not do so this time.

We still do not know the motives and reasons for the Australian Government adopting such a one-sided, drastic position regarding an event about which Yugoslavia should rightly protest and demand not only protection for our citizens and an explanation, but also satisfaction. I must say that this is an occasion to express my great satisfaction, and I would say pride, because our officials, headed by Consul General Glisic, honorably, bravely, in a dignified way, but also resolutely defended the integrity of their country, the territory that belongs to us there, and the honor of our flag. [end recording]

'Anti-Yugoslav Propaganda Hysteria' in Australia
*LD0712112888 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1038 GMT 7 Dec 88*

[By Martin Treneski]

[Text] Sydney, December 7 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade Government's categorical reply not accepting the Australian ultimatum on handing over a security guard of Yugoslavia's Consulate-General in Sydney who shot into the air for warning when Ustasha provocateurs burst into the consulate courtyard last November 27 has met with a certain dose of surprise in the public here.

The reason for this surely was a very well orchestrated anti-Yugoslav propaganda hysteria started after the incident for the purpose of creating an impression as if the far-away European country should be set in the pilory, or that its "gunman," a consulate's security guard who used his gun, should be put under arrest and brought to a court here for trial.

The Yugoslav Government's reply in the negative, however, was the only one possible because the Belgrade Government unmistakably drew attention to the fact that the said incident came to pass on account of the consulate's being inadequately protected at the time. Further, a deaf ear was turned to Yugoslavia's legitimate demand that the provocateurs who burst into the consulate be caught and punished.

In all bilateral contacts, the Yugoslav side drew attention to the Ustasha syndrome (Ustashes were nazi and fascist quislings in the so-called independent state of Croatia during World War Two on a part of the territory of Yugoslavia), or to a very receptive eye being kept on acts of intolerance displayed by Ustasha extremists.

All Australian Governments kept refusing to admit all the time until 1970 the very idea of having Ustasha-led terrorist organisations in action on their territory. And this for all that they were kept informed about this by local security and intelligence organisations and agencies and the federal police.

One-time Australian Premier Gough Whitlam and his minister of justice, Lionel Murphy, were rare politicians to let the Australian public know, in a report submitted to the national parliament, that the Ustashes are no "freedom fighters." As Ustashes would present themselves as usual, but terrorists stopping at nothing while committing the worst of crimes. [sentence as received]

Yugoslavia reacts to Ustasha provocations having a tragic experience with them since the end of World War Two. Long is the list of crimes these hooligans have perpetrated against Yugoslav diplomats, diplomatic and other representations in the world. According to official statistics, the terrorists launched 657 attacks between 1945 and September 1985 on Yugoslav interests abroad. They killed 82 people (three foreigners among them) and wounded 186 others (two foreigners among them).

Further, in the 1945-81 period terrorists carried out 30 attacks in Yugoslavia itself, killing 30 people and wounding another 73.

A short time ago, Andrew Selth, an Australian expert in international terrorism, came out with a book entitled 'The Terrorist Threat to the Diplomacy: Against Every Human Law,' in which he listed ten or so Ustasha terrorist organisations operating in Australia.

An inglorious primacy among them in terms of their readiness to commit any kind of crime goes to members of the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood, whose members, after long preparations at Wodonga, Australia's federated state of Victoria, infiltrated into Yugoslavia in June, 1972, and killed 13 people.

These days, voices have been against Yugoslavia accusations, too, of its "abetting state terrorism" by refusing to hand over its security guard who fired his gun in self-defence in the consulate courtyard.

The truth lies, however, in thus covering up responsibility for the incident in front of the Yugoslav Consulate and encouraging Ustasha extremists. This is why immigrants of Yugoslav origin are to remain targets for attempts on their lives, for terrorist and subversive acts.

Raif Dizdarevic Departs for GDR 7 Dec
LD0712095188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0926 GMT 7 Dec 88

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec (TANJUG)—The president of the SFRY Presidency, Raif Dizdarevic, left Belgrade today for an official, friendly visit to the German Democratic Republic.

At the invitation of the president of the Council of State of the GDR, Erich Honecker, Dizdarevic will stay in the GDR from 7 to 9 December.

It is a return visit and represents the continuation of a stable dialogue between the highest representatives of the two countries.

FEC President Mikulic Arrives in Netherlands
AU0612161488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Today Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, arrived in the Netherlands for an official visit. Here is a report by Zagreb Radio correspondent Branko Karajkovic:

About half an hour ago, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, had a brief private meeting with his host, Premier Ruud Lubbers. The talks between the full delegations are just about to start now. This is how the Yugoslav guest, who is the first head of our postwar governments to visit this country, has begun his busy working program, which is obviously accompanied by the mutual wish that the traditional friendship, which was particularly expressed during President Tito's visit to the Netherlands at the beginning of the 1970's, be enriched by even more fruitful substance.

It is in the joint interest of the two countries to recultivate the neglected field of Yugoslav-Netherlands economic and other relations on the platform of a more

favorable European and world climate and the more efficient opening up of Yugoslavia toward many undisputed values of the economically most developed parts of the old continent.

With the fantastic \$180 billion of annual trade with the world, this little country is only our fifth partner in the EC. Let us not speak about our minute presence in the Netherlands market. In today's talks, which will be attended by the Netherlands foreign, finance, agriculture, and trade ministers, fuller, higher forms of economic and general bilateral cooperation will be at the center of attention.

An increase of Yugoslav exports of 19 percent in the first 10 months this year is encouraging. So is the increase in the interest of the Netherlands and Yugoslav businessmen in joint ventures and technological cooperation.

Let us also say that tomorrow several specific agreements will be signed. The Dunav Brod and the Tito shipyard of Belgrade will sign a cooperation agreement in river transportation; the 29 November Enterprise of Subotica will sign an agreement on the production of machines for meat processing; the Vinkovci combine will sign an agreement on a joint venture in developing pig breeding; and Agrosem of Subotica will sign an agreement on cooperation in the production of seed plants.

Yugoslav-Netherlands relations were already discussed in the early afternoon in the wider context of socioeconomic changes in Yugoslavia, total relations with the EC, and the situation concerning East-West and North-South relations. With much more sensitive feeling for the problems of the developing countries than some other Western countries have, the Netherlands sees in Yugoslavia a reputable partner for the exchange of ideas and opinions which is after all reflected in the attention given to the Yugoslav delegation today.

Received by Queen
AU0612193888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 88

[Text] Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, today arrived in the Netherlands for an official visit. Here is a report from The Hague by Zagreb Radio correspondent Branko Karajkovic:

Immediately after the welcome and state honors, Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, and his wife, accompanied by his host, Prime Minister Lubbers, were received by Queen Beatrix, which is an expression of the highest honor in this kingdom. On that occasion Mikulic conveyed greetings to Queen Beatrix sent by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and an invitation to visit our country. She accepted this with pleasure, saying that she is fascinated by the natural beauties of Yugoslavia, which she has already visited privately on several occasions.

The president of the FEC then visited President of the Senate Dr Steenkamp, the first of the two presidents of the two houses in parliament, with whom he planned to meet during his stay. Tomorrow he will meet the president of the other house, Dolman.

The private talks which Mikulic held with Prime Minister Lubbers this afternoon preceded the meeting of the full delegations. The Netherlands officials who accompanied Prime Minister Lubbers—the ministers for foreign affairs, finances, agriculture, and trade—stressed the nature of the main topics and the direction in which more fruitful cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Netherlands should be sought.

The president of the FEC, as we have learned, briefed his hosts about Yugoslavia's firm (determination) to implement three reforms, of which the economic reform has already begun with the recent adoption of the constitutional amendments.

The Netherlands, who have played an important role in supporting Yugoslavia's solutions to overcome its difficulties, repeated their assessment which stresses the importance of Yugoslavia's political and economic stability for relations on this continent and further beyond.

They accepted with approval Yugoslavia's wish to continue to successfully develop its relations with the EC, and in this context with the Netherlands, from the position of its nonaligned and independent policies.

The 19-percent increase in our exports to the Netherlands market in the first 10 months of this year is a positive sign, but one should not forget that the total Yugoslav accumulated deficit in the last 7 years is more than \$500 million, which we must admit is not only the consequence of the ability of the Netherlands exporters, but also of the lack of ability displayed by our side.

Tomorrow Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, will hold (direct) talks with local businessmen, which will be an opportunity to learn more about the future of Yugoslav-Netherlands economic relations.

Loncar Addresses French on Anniversary of Ties
LD0212142288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Paris, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—Peoples without a past do not have a future and we are certainly bound by tradition, but not the kind which remains a relic in a museum. We must take account of our interests today and of our aspirations.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for national defense, made these remarks 2 days ago in the French National Assembly while addressing the deep roots of the friendship between France and Yugoslavia. The reason for these remarks and for this unusual formal ceremony, which was arranged by Michel Coffineau, deputy

speaker of the French National Assembly, was the 150th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and the Kingdom of Serbia, with which in fact the long history of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and France begins. [passage omitted]

Today, as 150, 70, or 46 years ago, we have numerous common interests of an enduring nature which transcend the momentary and passing ups and downs. It is in the current joint interests, dear friends, that I also see the role of the National Assembly and of other institutions of the French Republic and also your parliamentary group for co-operation with Yugoslavia. Knowing that you represent the authentic public opinion of France, we count on your support and understanding. True, Yugoslavia is today faced with serious difficulties and with problems of an economic, social, and political nature, but it is also a fact that we are determined to overcome them.

Yugoslavia, as a nonaligned European and Mediterranean developing country, is, of course, vitally interested in the development of equal cooperation among all the European countries regardless of their size and international affiliation. It is interested in continuing with France the regular and intensified exchange of views on all international and bilateral topics. It is also interested in the further development of its relations with the European community in the framework of which France is one of our most important and influential partners to whose advice and thinking we attach due importance. Confronted by today's trends toward integration in Europe and by the prospects for a united European market, we want not only to implement in the most effective possible way the existing *sui generis* agreement between the SFRY and the EEC, but also in the development of cooperation and political dialogue with the EEC. We do not want to be out of step with the integration processes which are underway. I believe that you can help us a lot in this.

However, let us return to the date which we have in common—the 150th anniversary of our diplomatic relations which has brought us together here, and I would repeat the ancient, wise saying that nations without a past do not have a future either. We are certainly bound by tradition, but not by that kind of tradition which remains a museum relic. For us, tradition is the obligation that our relations be constantly enriched and that we take account of our present-day interests and aspirations and that we think of and work for the future. This is why, in thinking back to the first French consul, Monsieur Duclos at this moment in his memory, as well as for our present-day relations and our present-day friendship. [sentence as received] Long live the friendship between the SFRY and France.

Loncar Views Economic Problems, Serbia
PM0612153888 Paris I.E MONDE in French
29 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar by Alain Debove; date and place not given]

[Text] [Debove] Yugoslavia is facing serious economic problems. How do you view your country's future?

[Loncar] I think that our situation is difficult, but people are trying to present it as much more dramatic than it is. At present these economic problems are our main concern, and the situation contains both positive and negative elements. The positive element is connected with trade with foreign countries. This year we have succeeded in increasing our exports by 11.5 percent, whereas imports have only increased by 5.8 percent. The increase in exports has been to developed countries, countries to which we owe the highest debts. The trade deficit persists, but it is relatively low. However, we are observing an improvement in income from services and tourism, and our balance of payments ought to show a surplus of around 2 billion dollars. Our currency reserves have increased by 50 percent and all repayments connected with our foreign debt, which has been restructured, have been honored this year.

On the negative side, there are three things: a very low growth rate, which even dropped by 1 percent between 1986 and 1987, inflation which is approaching 200 percent, and real salaries which have dropped by between 8 and 10 percent over the last year. This has influenced the workers' motivation, except in the branches of the economy which are oriented toward export. But the important thing is that we have reached an ideological and political consensus this year on new economic principles based on market economy criteria. They were adopted last week, in the framework of constitutional changes. Nonetheless, we are now still in a contractual situation, with enterprises which are not working well, and this damages the economy's vitality.

We have just entered a phase of anxiety, discontent, and unrest. The anxiety stresses the need for changes, although it sometimes produces extreme reactions which take the form of partisan activities by the republics and regions. This discontent, which can be described as negative, is expressed outside the existing institutions, and this is unfortunate. But it shows that the existing structures are obsolete.

The anxiety to which I refer has made us realize the need to reform the economic and constitutional system. Of course, there are some disagreements, but the essential thing is that we have decided to end dogmatism once and for all. This dogmatism frequently appeared in allegedly revolutionary forms, but they were essentially counter-revolutionary and regressive.

Three reforms have been adopted: economic, constitutional, and the party reform. We first had to win the battle for the market economy to which some forces were opposed. They defended old-fashioned positions in the name of social justice. The need to reform the Constitution and the party emerged from this battle.

Some 49 amendments have been adopted: in other words one-third of the Constitution. They aim to reduce the state's prerogatives in the economy, to liberate the enterprises, so to speak, for greater integration at national level, and to redefine the notion of ownership as such within the framework of the new provision for private enterprise. In the future the notion of ownership will be pluralist: social, cooperative, or private, and foreign or mixed. We also intend to liberalize our relations with foreign countries so as to open up to the international market and economy and to create special conditions for foreign investment and private ownership in our country.

In the framework of these reforms, the party could not lag behind. As you see, things began with the economy and ended with ideology. Perhaps the economy could not progress before because of ideology. I do not think that society's present trend toward democratization can be halted.

Solving the Serbian Problem

[Debove] We have seen a wave of interethnic tension in Yugoslavia for more than a year—a resurgence of Serbian and Albanian nationalism, in Kosovo for instance. Is this situation dangerous for the federation's future? Is its unity in jeopardy?

[Loncar] I am not afraid. Ours is a multinational country in which the level of development varies strongly from one region to another. Slovenia's level of development is almost equal to that of central Europe, whereas Kosovo is at a level similar to that of Albania, in other words the least developed part of Europe. Moreover, our federal system is very advanced. We have gone so far that we have anticipated the Europe of the future! But the main weakness of the system we have chosen is its very democratic concept of self-management and consensus decisions. And it produces negative elements like bureaucracy in the republics and regions, and this has produced partisan behavior. An economy which is both decentralized and bound by bureaucracy is the main source of all the mistakes. That is why I think that the essential historical battle has been won with the move toward a market economy. Enthusiasm for these reforms varies from one region to another. Slovenia was anxious to see this step taken. Kosovo is still asking for increasing financial aid, more than that given to other republics, as is Macedonia, another poorly developed region. It is through these economic conflicts that ethnic problems have appeared.

I would now like to say a few words about the specific questions of Serbia and Kosovo. Kosovo was the center of Serbian national culture and awareness from the 12th to 15th century, before the Turks arrived in the Balkans. The Albanians, who came to that region mainly in the last century, now have a majority there as a result of a very high birthrate. It must also be said that this people has also had problems and misfortunes in the past. In the new Yugoslavia, the principle of equal rights for peoples and nationalities has been raised to a level which does not exist anywhere else in the world. Under the terms of the 1974 Constitution, Kosovo is part of Serbia, with some autonomous aspects. The Albanians, who are in a majority, are naturally in power. They have forgotten that they form a part of Serbia, and Serbia has raised the question of equality in law as a republic. The emancipation process has been very rapid in Kosovo. In the wake of this national awareness, ideas of separatism and union with neighboring Albania developed. The Serbian and Montenegrin minorities felt discriminated against. Large numbers of them moved.

The priority now is to solve the Serbian problem, to ensure that Serbia has the same characteristics as the other republics. The autonomous regions—Kosovo and Vojvodina—should have the same legal and legislative systems, a common defense, and the same views on international relations. Having said that, they will have the same level of representation in the federal parliament and other bodies as they do now.

In the past few weeks, Yugoslavia has witnessed big public demonstrations, but nobody has been killed and there has been no extreme behavior. Those demonstrations all took place in a calm and civilized atmosphere. This does not mean that I approve of all the slogans which were chanted at those meetings.

As Close to the EEC as Possible

[Debove] How do you envisage your country's relations with Europe in 1983 [as published] and with France, from the economic and political viewpoints?

[Loncar] This will be one of the most important subjects which I will discuss with Mr Dumas, Mr Rocard, Mr Mitterrand, and the other people with whom I meet. Europe and the world are at an intersection. The positive outlook is not free from challenges and problems. This is particularly true of small, remote, and less highly developed countries. Europe's future will depend more than ever on the Europeans themselves. But Europe cannot ignore the world in which it lives, with its growing interdependence. What happens in all parts of Europe is important to the USSR and the other socialist countries. The most important thing now is the reforms in the USSR, because they also change the approach to security policy and the continuation of detente.

From 1993, the EEC will be the biggest world power in the economic sphere, and this gives it a more important voice. Europe may develop in different ways: It may emerge as a force of rapprochement, which will determine and integrate the whole of Europe, without forgetting historical, ideological, and political differences. Such a European community would open up great prospects for all, including Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia, which is not a member of any bloc, would have advantages, and it already has ties with the Community. That is why we are determined to speed up the strengthening of relations with the Community. Conditions are favorable.

If, unfortunately, the EEC took a different direction, and if, as the most developed part of Europe, it assumed exclusive rights in regard to sociopolitical systems, the possibilities would be fewer, but would still exist.

To conclude: Our policy is to enter the process of European integration, to participate as much as possible in the international division of labor, especially in specialized production, and also in the Eureka project, and in the use of financial resources—including a European bank—and to arrange all that in a political way as a European and Mediterranean nonaligned country. We want to be as close to the EEC as possible, but we also want to keep our identity.

FRG Able To Expel Yugoslav Immigrants
AU0212153288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
1 Dec 88 p 6

[TANJUG report: "The Expulsion of Political Emigrants"]

[Text] Bonn, 30 Nov—West German authorities have announced that there are no legal barriers to expelling Yugoslavs who, prompted by economic reasons, attempt to obtain the status of political refugees in the FRG under false pretenses.

They say that the number of Yugoslav citizens who have tried to obtain a resident permit in the FRG by pretending to be "politically persecuted" has recently risen sharply. The majority of them are Albanians and Romanians from Kosovo and Western Macedonia.

Tupurkovski at Greek Communist Party Meeting
LD0312142388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Athens, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—Vasil Tupurkovski, a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, spoke today during a meeting of the Greek Communist party in Larisa, a town 370 km north of Athens. Tupurkovski is leading an LCY delegation attending the

celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Greek Communist Party at the invitation of the party.

During the meeting in Larisa, Tupurkovski discussed the development of socialism and stressed the importance of cooperation between communist parties and progressive forces for the implementation of the national, social, and cultural aspirations of the peoples and of the working class. He also spoke of the relations in the Balkans,

stressing the importance of the nationality issue in measuring the progressiveness of the workers movement and of leading political forces in their national environments.

Proceeding from the lasting interest of the SFRY and the LCY in the development of good neighborly relations and of stable and rich cooperation, Tupurkovski also stressed the need to resolve the Macedonian issue between Yugoslavia and Greece.